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Provisional

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Wednesday, 29 September 1999, 3.15 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Kok	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Petrella
	Bahrain	Mr. Buallay
	Brazil	Mr. Fonseca
	Canada	Mr. Fowler
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Gabon	Mr. Essonghé
	Gambia	Mr. Jobe
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Slovenia	Mr. Türk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Hain
	United States of America	Mr. Minton

Agenda

The situation in Africa

Progress report on the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa (S/1999/1008)

99-85962 (E)

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The meeting was suspended at 1.20 p.m. and resumed at 3.30 p.m.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Nigeria, Pakistan and Uganda, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gambari (Nigeria); Mr. Haque (Pakistan) and Mr. Semakula Kiwanuka (Uganda) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): In his report on the work of the Organization to the General Assembly at its fifty-fourth session, the Secretary-General had this to say on Africa:

> "An estimated 44 per cent of Africans, and 51 per cent of those in sub-Saharan Africa, are living in absolute poverty. Of the 30 million people infected by HIV/AIDS in the world, 23 million live in sub-Saharan Africa; 91 per cent of all AIDS deaths in the world have occurred in 34 countries — 29 of which are in Africa." (*A/54/1, para. 172*)

There are over 6 million refugees and about 8 million internally displaced persons in Africa. Twenty countries are either engaged in or affected by conflict. And the list goes on.

I have chosen to commence my statement with this extract for two reasons. One is to highlight the incompatibility of conflict with durable peace and sustainable development. The other reason is to stress that the Netherlands remains an important donor country and development partner to Africa and particularly to my country, Namibia. It is therefore no surprise to us, Sir, that your delegation has initiated yet another important debate, this time on the progress made towards the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. Your physical presence in presiding over this meeting, Sir, is no small measure of your interest. My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for the progress report which is guiding our discussions and for his tireless efforts in addressing conflict situations in Africa and mobilizing international support for the development of Africa.

It is now 17 months since the comprehensive report of the Secretary-General was issued. Notwithstanding the recommendations contained therein, conflict in many parts of Africa — based on ethnicity, religion or the pursuit of diamonds, drugs, timber concessions and other valuable commodities — continues to plague Africa. Rebel groups and their supporters are creating turmoil on our beloved continent. The security and neutrality of refugee camps are not respected, while the problem of refugees and internally displaced persons is becoming unmanageable. The traffic in women and girls as sex slaves and the recruitment and training of children as combatants are rampant.

Today, massive resources continue to be diverted to the procuring of arms and munitions. Furthermore, and according to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, the cost to the international community of major wars in the 1990s, excluding Kosovo, amounted to $199 billion. We also know that Africa received less than $5 billion in foreign direct investment in 1998. If half of the resources lost to wars were channelled into development programmes, then surely millions of children, women and men who today are victims of armed conflict would be saved and Africa's development and prosperity would have been enhanced.

Thus, we concur with the Secretary-General's views that

> "Taking prevention more seriously will help to ensure that there are fewer wars and less consequential disasters to cope with in the first place." (*ibid., para. 21*)

It is for this reason that we commend the initiatives of the United Nations for its support to the Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament and the peacekeeping training centres in Côte d'Ivoire and Zimbabwe, as well as regional and subregional initiatives in the areas of conflict prevention through the United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network, which serves as an early-warning mechanism in Central and Southern Africa.

To this end, we commend the United Nations post-conflict peace-building effort in countries emerging from

civil wars and its assistance in the destruction of small arms and light weapons trafficked in violation of Security Council-imposed sanctions.

Furthermore, as the Secretary-General correctly points out in his progress report, rivalry in mediation efforts is detrimental to peace and frustrating to United Nations peacekeeping efforts, and therefore new initiatives must augment the existing mediation efforts. In this context, we reiterate our appeal to the international community to continue and to increase assistance to the Organization of African Unity and other regional organizations in Africa.

The Security Council has issued numerous resolutions imposing sanctions against UNITA. In addition, the Security Council adopted resolution 1237 (1999) on 7 May 1999, establishing the expert panels with the mandate to study the violations of sanctions against UNITA. Namibia remains committed to the full implementation of sanctions against UNITA and pledges its full support to the work of the panels and eagerly awaits their recommendations in this regard. UNITA must not be permitted to continue defying the will of the international community with impunity. UNITA must comply with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol by demilitarizing its forces and must permit the extension of State administration to areas under its control.

With regard to the further tightening of sanctions against UNITA through the adoption of national legislation criminalizing violations of the Council's sanctions imposed against UNITA, my Government supports this measure and will approach the Secretariat for assistance in preparing its own national legislation in this regard. We share the view that the Security Council has exercised and continues to exercise a double standard in the application of sanctions, which has indeed undermined the effectiveness of sanctions imposed against UNITA. The political will of the international community is of utmost importance in rendering the sanctions more effective. We highly commend the efforts and commitment of Ambassador Robert Fowler of Canada, the Chairman of the sanctions Committee, in galvanizing momentum among the international community to implement sanctions against UNITA.

Since the outbreak of the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo more than a year ago, enormous efforts have been made by regional leaders, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations to resolve the conflict. As a result of those efforts and the determination of African leaders to address conflicts afflicting the continent, the Ceasefire Agreement was signed on 10 July 1999 by the States involved in the Democratic Republic of the Congo conflict and subsequently by the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo and the Congolese Rally for Democracy on 1 and 31 August 1999, respectively.

That war has caused immense human suffering to hundreds of innocent civilians, some of whom have lost their lives. Others are now internally displaced or have sought refuge in neighbouring countries. The humanitarian needs of these refugees and internally displaced persons need to be addressed, for it will take time before they return to their homes.

Security Council resolution 1234 (1999) of 9 April 1999 called for the immediate signing of the Ceasefire Agreement, among other things. Now that the Agreement has been signed by all parties, we regard it of utmost importance for a United Nations peacekeeping operation to be deployed to the Democratic Republic of the Congo without further delay, in order to implement the Agreement. Such an international peacekeeping force, of the right size, should be deployed with an appropriate mandate under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and should be supported with the necessary resources.

We have always maintained that the Council should act swiftly so as to avoid creating a vacuum. It is now time for the international community, in particular the Security Council, to take immediate action. What we had feared is now taking place in the Congo. Resolution 1234 (1999) is being flouted in earnest in the eastern part of the Congo, not to mention the continuous looting of the natural resources of the Congo.

The pace for the deployment of the military liaison personnel, the dispatch of the technical assessment team and the eventual deployment of the peacekeeping force should therefore be increased. Any further delay will prolong the agony and suffering of the people of the Congo and result in more bloodshed in that country. We thank the European Union and all those who have assisted the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in the peace process for the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We call for their continued assistance.

Several international human rights instruments have been developed and ratified over the past 50 years which address the rights, protection and welfare of children.

Fundamental guarantees pertaining to the rights and needs of children are explicitly noted in these agreements.

There is, however, an urgent need for all parties to conflicts to respect fully the provisions of these international instruments. The impact of armed conflict on children in Africa has been particularly harmful, disproportionate and widespread. No region of the continent has been spared the scourge of armed conflict. It is true that the primary responsibility for bringing to an end the use of child soldiers lies with the relevant Governments and other parties to the armed conflicts. At the same time, the international community has a major role to play to ensure an end to the immoral use of children as soldiers.

We will continue to witness the tragedy of war-affected children who are severely malnourished, abused, raped and murdered at the hands of adults unless we all get involved and do something serious about it.

The Secretary-General has issued his report (S/1999/1003) on the Observer Mission in Sierra Leone, which, *inter alia*, states in paragraph 57 that,

> "With the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement, the people of Sierra Leone have an opportunity to repair some of the damage caused by their long conflict and to set their country back on the road to peace and prosperity. In order to do so, they will have to make a strong national effort, but they will need significant international assistance in that regard. Many of the efforts needed are of a long-term nature, requiring the commitment of the Government and donors for many years to come."

My delegation could not agree more.

Namibia therefore supports the earliest deployment of the proposed peacekeeping force to Sierra Leone, to be known as the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). Only then can the people of Sierra Leone begin to nurture peace in their country. We must act with the same urgency to address conflict situations in Africa as we do elsewhere in the world. Peace in Africa will benefit us all.

It is important for the international community not to be seen to be selective when dealing with various humanitarian situations around the globe. The Secretary-General stated in paragraph 104 of his progress report (S/1999/1008) that

> "As of 31 August, the United Nations had received only half of the $800 million it had requested to meet humanitarian needs in Africa".

The time has now come for the international community to pay equal attention to all conflicts.

However, we are of the view that reacting to humanitarian situations alone is not enough. The international community should spare no effort in addressing the root causes of conflict. Democracy, good governance, accountability, transparency and the rule of law have all taken root in most countries in Africa. These must, however, be accompanied by the necessary development assistance if they are to be sustained.

Never before has a region been the subject of so many reports in the United Nations yet the situation seems to remain the same. In the area of the maintenance of international peace and security, the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa has provided recommendations which hold the key to solving Africa's problems. The recent OAU summit held in Algiers has once more demonstrated the resolve of African States to make peace and development the rule in Africa. What is needed, therefore, is the political will to earnestly assist Africans to make peace and security in Africa a reality.

The President: I thank the representative of Namibia for his kind words addressed to my Government and to the presidency.

Mr. Türk (Slovenia): Slovenia appreciates the leadership of the Netherlands and Ambassador van Walsum personally as President of the Security Council for this month and welcomes your personal initiative, Sir, to convene this open debate on the situation in Africa.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his impressive progress report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. The progress report provides valuable insights into the practical work which has been taking place since April last year and shows that the problems of Africa are very much at the centre of attention and action of the Secretary-General.

The Security Council, in turn, has been giving much of its attention to specific situations in Africa, and at the

same time has tried to establish the necessary conceptual framework for its own future action. Much of that work was accomplished in the ad hoc Working Group of the Security Council, ably chaired by Ambassador Denis Dangue Réwaka of Gabon.

In my statement I wish to refer to several areas in which I believe further action is necessary. The first is inter-institutional cooperation, especially cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and a number of subregional organizations in Africa. The Security Council is consistently supporting the efforts of the OAU and subregional organizations, and is prepared to enhance the effectiveness of that support. We were therefore pleased to see Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the Secretary-General of the OAU, in our midst this morning. We would like to see him as often as possible in our midst, with the aim of strengthening coordination and cooperation between the two Organizations. Together we must ensure the synergetic effects of the implementation of our respective mandates and avoid situations in which complex regional procedures produce undue delays and diminish the effectiveness of the support of the United Nations for the OAU.

Another area where the Security Council needs to engage in further thinking and specific action relates to sanctions. It is indicative of the tragedy of Africa that the majority of sanctions imposed by the Security Council have been directed against Member States or specific groups in Africa.

Sanctions, as the Secretary-General pointed out in paragraph 25 of his last year's report on Africa, have a way of inflicting costs on unintended victims. In response to the pressing need to make sanctions a more targeted, effective and less blunt instrument, the chairpersons of the sanctions Committees launched an initiative in September last year which resulted in the preparation of an issue paper and a set of practical proposals concerning sanctions imposed by the Security Council. These two documents led to the adoption of a note by the President of the Security Council on the work of the sanctions Committees. That note includes a number of concrete measures to improve the effectiveness of sanctions regimes and to alleviate their unintended side effects. This line of Security Council activity has to continue.

In the context of efforts aimed at improving the Security Council's applied sanctions in Africa, it is important to note the recent experience of the Libya sanctions Committee, established by Security Council resolution 748 (1992). The events of this April have shown that the Security Council is not only capable of imposing sanctions, but, when the necessary conditions are created, of suspending them as well.

We share the opinion that greater use should be made of targeted sanctions and that more attention should be paid to their unintended adverse effects. However, we also believe that there is a need to ensure more serious enforcement of the existing sanctions regimes by the international community. We especially support efforts aimed at improving the implementation of arms embargoes and stemming illicit arms flows to and within Africa. In this connection, we would like to recognize the indefatigable efforts of Ambassador Robert Fowler of Canada to facilitate a political solution of the Angolan crisis by limiting the ability of UNITA to pursue the war option.

Illicit flows of arms and other conventional weapons represent one of the major obstacles to peace. We are witnessing this in Angola, in Sierra Leone and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which are the most acute problems of the continent today. We are aware of the fact that the availability of arms is not the main reason for fighting, but it does help and encourage the latent problems to erupt. On 19 November 1998 the Security Council adopted resolution 1209 (1998), which addressed this question and considered what role the United Nations and Member States might play in responding to the challenge of illicit arms flows to and within Africa. We are pleased to see that this Security Council action complements several regional initiatives.

We welcome the initiative of Mali, through the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), to declare a moratorium on the production and transfer of small arms, involving 16 countries. It is also heartening that the Secretariat of the OAU has strengthened its Centre for Disarmament in Togo. We welcome the decision of the OAU to organize a regional conference on small arms that will provide specific recommendations on the halting of the use, transfer and illegal manufacturing of small arms, and on all other ongoing activities that are mentioned in the Secretary-General's progress report.

The Security Council last year adopted a number of specific proposals for the strengthening of African peacekeeping potential. We are pleased at the ongoing efforts to deepen the cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU, as well as with other regional and

subregional arrangements. Effective peacekeeping operations on the African continent require military contingents that are skilled in specialities such as tracking, anti-mine warfare, low-intensity conflict and law enforcement activities. It is recognized that the military potentials in Africa are very well suited to these tasks.

However, as the Secretary-General pointed out in paragraph 26 of his progress report, the enhancement of African capacity for peacekeeping is contingent on the provision of logistic support. For at least some time in the future, Africa will therefore need help in constructing the foundations of regional security systems and in dealing with conflicts that occur along the way. It is imperative that the United Nations and the international community provide the necessary assistance.

Ultimately, Africans must assume the lead in transforming their security environment and must help the United Nations understand how it can best support them in their efforts, given the extent of its global responsibilities.

Most, if not all, military conflicts in Africa are characterized by severe humanitarian problems, which need to be addressed with the greatest urgency. In the past year, the Security Council has held several open debates on various aspects of this issue. The conclusions of these debates are relevant to the conflict situations in Africa and need not be repeated at any length today. Let me therefore mention only that we agree with the Secretary-General in his appeals to increase humanitarian assistance and to further improve coordination between the organizations and agencies active in this field. In particular, we emphasize the importance of expanding the concept of children as "zones of peace" and, more generally, the work of the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict. We would like to encourage him and others involved in these activities to pay particular attention to such measures as anti-polio and other vaccination campaigns which have in the past helped to establish ceasefire arrangements and have produced a number of valuable humanitarian effects.

I wish to note that many conditions for peace and sustainable development in Africa do not belong on the immediate agenda of the Security Council. Nevertheless, the Council must be aware of their importance in order to understand the limits to how far its decisions can reach and to harmonize its actions with the activities of other United Nations organs.

In our opinion, one of the most powerful messages of the Secretary-General's report (S/1999/318) is the emphasis on the intrinsic link between the promotion of economic growth and the construction of durable peace. Good governance and sound economics are the best guarantees against armed conflicts. In this connection, it is worth noting that much of the current debate on economic growth offers some reasons for hope.

Hypotheses about dynamic gains in trade are at the core of many new economic models of so-called endogenous growth. According to these models, long-term economic growth depends on increased productivity and innovation, and the incentives for both depend on the scope of the market. As such, these models provide encouragement for local efforts to strengthen the private sector and carry out the necessary macroeconomic reforms.

Economists still stress, however, that the gains in economic growth might not actually be shared by all. Lack of adequate basic infrastructure, especially absence of an effective transportation network, severely limits opportunities for extensive trade. Climate may also have serious adverse effects on economic growth. The tropics impose additional burdens of debilitating infectious diseases — most notably malaria — not found in the temperate zones. In 1995, for example, countries with severe malaria had income levels only one-third of countries without malaria. For these reasons, it is safe to say that a significant portion of Africa's population faces severe geographical obstacles to development.

It is important to bear these special African constraints in mind when discussing issues of such major significance to Africans as access to foreign markets and, most importantly, the unsustainable debt burden. The recent Cologne initiative on debt represents a welcome effort to provide fast relief through major changes to the heavily indebted poor countries framework. Nevertheless, more needs to be done. Adherence to International Monetary Fund (IMF) structural adjustment programmes is still a prerequisite for receiving debt relief. Serious thought has to be given to the calls for debt cancellation and to rethinking the role of IMF in Africa. The current arrangements do not seem to be solving Africa's basic problems and tend to divert attention away from fundamental challenges such as disease control, development of human resources and environmental management. These issues should of course be discussed further, and in depth in the Economic and Social Council and in the General Assembly.

The problems of peace in Africa require constant attention. The current open debate is an important phase in that process. The Security Council should be able to offer both vision in addressing the underlying causes and an ability to address specific crisis situations in Africa effectively.

The President: I thank the representative of Slovenia for his kind words addressed to the presidency.

Mr. Buallay (Bahrain) *(spoke in Arabic):* I should like to extend to you, Mr. President, and to your delegation, my deep appreciation and thanks for the great efforts you made in organizing this meeting, which is part of the follow-up to the action taken since the ministerial meeting last year on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa.

I welcome the important statement of the Secretary-General this morning. I also commend him on his progress report on implementation of the recommendations in the report regarding the causes of conflict in Africa. I appreciate the report's valuable information about the efforts made in this context.

I should also like to thank the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for having participated in this meeting. This will undoubtedly help to strengthen the cooperation between the United Nations system and the OAU. It will also help us to find a common denominator on how to implement the Security Council decisions and presidential statements on how to implement the recommendations of the Secretary-General.

Matters involving Africa have always taken up a large share of the Council's deliberations. Peace and calm have indeed been restored in some areas. We believe that those successes were due to cooperation between the parties to the conflict and the international and regional organizations as they tried to find peaceful solutions. Also there was compliance with the provisions of the peace agreements that were signed.

In addition, the international community's political and material support is needed for African regional organizations so that they can continue their efforts to end armed conflicts and restore peace and security in the areas of conflict.

The report shows clearly that the Secretary-General, and thereby the organs of the United Nations, have made many efforts to implement the recommendations regarding support for regional and subregional initiatives that aim at preserving peace and eliminating the causes of conflict in Africa. Two Special Representatives participated very effectively in different negotiations under the auspices of the OAU and other regional organizations in Africa.

The Secretariat has also held special meetings on how to help certain African countries avoid the outbreak of conflict.

One of the steps taken by the Security Council to put an end to conflicts, where the parties did not respond to international and regional appeals to respect ceasefires and to start negotiations that would lead to peace agreements was the imposition of sanctions on those involved in the fighting. In this respect, the Bahrain delegation endorses the Secretariat's approach in encouraging the efforts of the Member States and regional organizations and non-governmental organizations to make the sanctions imposed by the Security Council more effective but less cruel. We would not like the sanctions to have a negative impact on the people rather than on the leaders, who are the ones primarily targeted.

Another factor that leads to conflict in Africa is the problem of illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons. We therefore approve the approach of convening a subregional conference on the proliferation and illicit trafficking in arms and drugs. We also support the idea of understanding the consequences of illicit trafficking in arms. In this context, we stress the need for developing a strategy to deal with the problem, with a view to eliminating it through setting up controls on the manufacture, export and import of weapons.

On strengthening African capacity for peacekeeping and post-conflict peace-building, we urge the United Nations to intensify its work in organizing and training civilian police for peacekeeping purposes.

We also support seminars on the administration of missions. We believe that providing the necessary funds to develop and complete this task is an important question that should be studied carefully.

The offices established by the United Nations to provide assistance in post-conflict peace-building situations in various African countries play a very important role, because they help to create appropriate

conditions for the re-establishment and consolidation of peace by supporting national reconciliation efforts. Of course, their success depends largely on greater organizational and financial support from international financial institutions.

Humanitarian assistance provided to African countries is an important priority when we look at conflicts in Africa. In this connection, we would like to emphasize the importance of coordinating the assistance provided and of ensuring free and unhampered access to humanitarian personnel and supplies. We also have to make sure that assistance actually reaches the people who need it.

The tragic humanitarian situation of many refugees and displaced persons in various African countries — particularly that of women, children and the elderly — means that the international community, and donor countries in particular, must provide the resources necessary for humanitarian assistance prescribed by the humanitarian agencies of the United Nations.

We note that the report of the Secretary-General highlights international efforts aimed at encouraging economic growth in Africa. This involves increasing transparency in public administration, strengthening administrative capacities, creating an atmosphere favourable to investments, enhancing competitiveness and introducing proposals aimed at exploring strong initiatives to alleviate the debt of highly indebted poor countries in Africa.

It is also worth noting that these efforts coincide with the measures that have been taken by various African countries to liberalize their trade, regulate their exchanges and privatize their obsolete State corporations. We hope that these positive changes will spur donors and developed countries to provide assistance to States to encourage them to persevere on the road they have chosen so that they may become models for other African States. The goal here is the realization of economic and social growth so it can lead to averting potential conflicts.

In conclusion, while we welcome the cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in Africa, and the strengthening of African peacekeeping capacity, we would also emphasize the need for continued assistance to African countries so that they may realize the utmost possible state of security and stability, which are essential to achieving prosperity and sustainable development for their people in the near future.

The President: I thank the representative of Bahrain for his kind words addressed to the presidency.

Mr. Kamal (Malaysia): My delegation commends the Netherlands for convening this formal meeting on a very important subject. The fact that you are presiding over the debate, Sir, demonstrates the importance your country attaches to African issues.

In a similar discussion during the ministerial-level Council meeting held a little over a year ago, many commended the Secretary-General for his candid and comprehensive report (S/1998/318) of 13 April 1998, which sought to give focus to the subject as a whole. Now the Secretary-General has issued a progress report (S/1999/1008) dated 25 September 1999 for the Council's further consideration. We note that the current report outlines follow-up actions that have been initiated or completed in the areas of peace and security, as well as in development and related areas, in implementation of the recommendations contained in his earlier report.

African issues dominate the work of the Council. The point of departure of today's meeting is our common and shared responsibility for international peace and security as it applies to Africa. We need to consider openly and critically how the Council has met this responsibility. We need to look ahead at what the Council and we as Member States can do differently and expeditiously.

Notwithstanding Kosovo and East Timor, many are still sceptical about the commitment and resolve of the United Nations to intervene in conflict situations in Africa. Only last week, the Council heard the appeal made by President Frederick Chiluba of the Republic of Zambia for the Council to be more forthcoming in its support for African peace efforts. Much of this hesitation is due to the failed intervention in Somalia and the non-intervention in Rwanda in the early 1990s. It was only last year that the Council finally began to take up peacekeeping efforts, as seen in the Central African Republic and Sierra Leone. It is our fervent hope that the current reassessment by the Council with regard to its Charter obligations will make it possible for the Council to avoid past reluctance and indecisiveness when faced with similar situations in the future. We urge the Council to establish clear criteria for authorizing peacekeeping and enforcement actions whenever situations arise, regardless of their geographical locations.

During the ongoing general debate in the General Assembly, arguments have been advanced both for and against humanitarian intervention in conflict situations. The Secretary-General initiated the debate, when he correctly pointed out that the Council cannot remain indifferent to grave humanitarian situations, and spoke of the need to apply the Charter in a consistent manner. On the other hand, many Member States have equally voiced the position that sovereignty is their last bastion against encroachment and interference in their internal affairs.

Whatever the merits of each argument, my delegation wishes to state unequivocally that the Council's authorization is a prerequisite for any use of force against Member States of the Organization. We share the view that the legal mandate given by having such missions authorized by the Council brings with it the assurance and confidence that this body has acted responsibly and on behalf of the entire membership of the Organization, as called for in Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Malaysia believes that as the Council attempts to focus more effectively in trying to resolve conflicts in Africa, a sustained political commitment is required in order to prevent the fragile truce in many parts of the continent from reigniting into bloodier fighting. The Council must assert its moral authority and deploy its entire gamut of diplomatic resources to promote peace and security. The United Nations is the only global mechanism for effective collaboration in circumstances in which States are reluctant or ill-placed to act alone. But it must be equipped with better tools and resources to do the job. The Organization must be given the means and support in order to succeed.

In the context of the current conflict situations in Africa, there is a need for an enhanced working cooperation and coordination between the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. This is recognized by both organizations, and efforts are being made to put this into practical effect as they strive to resolve the various conflicts in the African continent. This enhanced cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity must be strengthened by sustained political support and commitment, backed by the necessary support in other areas. In this regard, we urge States and relevant international bodies to continue to provide financial and technical support to further strengthen African regional and subregional efforts for conflict prevention, the maintenance of peace and security, and dispute settlement.

Regional and subregional organizations can play an important role in the prevention of conflict and in peacekeeping. The efforts of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in respect of the conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau are clear testimony of this. We wish to pay tribute to the commendable and courageous efforts of ECOMOG in the maintenance of regional peace and security in West Africa. We also recognize the efforts of other subregional organizations in Africa. However, regional peacekeeping efforts do not absolve the Council of its responsibility for peacekeeping in the context of the maintenance of international peace and security. It cannot subcontract its Charter-mandated responsibility. Since joining the Security Council at the beginning of this year, my delegation has raised, on a number of occasions, the need for Nigeria — the largest troop contributor to ECOMOG — to be supported to enable it to continue to maintain its peacekeeping troops in Sierra Leone for a longer period of time. Adequate support is imperative if ECOMOG is to continue to assist in consolidating the still-fragile peace process in Sierra Leone. Such forces are acting on the Organization's behalf and are sacrificing their lives for peace in the region. It is only proper and morally correct that we endeavour to provide the means to allow such troop-contributing countries to continue their presence in the conflict areas. In Sierra Leone, as well as in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, what is needed most is prompt and decisive action from us in order to build on the momentum generated by the signing of the respective Lomé and Lusaka agreements.

My delegation notes with particular concern the proliferation of small arms in Africa, which clearly have contributed to the intensity and duration of the conflicts on the continent. We therefore strongly support the call for stricter controls of arms flows to conflict areas. We are equally concerned about the use of sophisticated weaponry, which would add a new destabilizing factor with regard to which Africa and the international community as a whole will have to be particularly vigilant.

Peace and security in Africa can be attained only through common action by Africa that is supported by the international community. We must bring our collective commitment and resolve to bear on the settlement of the crises in order to free up resources and energies for the essential task of economic and social development. Africa's well-being is in the interest of the international community.

We have seen just recently how swift and decisive the Council was in its action on the situation in East Timor. We expect the Council to do no less on African conflicts lest it be seen to be selective and apply double standards in its work. To borrow the words of the Secretary-General in his address to the General Assembly on 20 September 1999, at this fifty-fourth session,

> "If the new commitment to intervention in the face of extreme suffering is to retain the support of the world's peoples, it must be, and must be seen to be, fairly and consistently applied, irrespective of region or nation. Humanity, after all, is indivisible." *(A/54/PV.4)*

The President: I thank the representative of Malaysia for the kind words he addressed to my Government.

Mr. Fonseca (Brazil) (*spoke in Spanish*): We are grateful to you, Mr. President, for the initiative of having convened this meeting. It is an initiative that shows the continuing concern of the Netherlands for the fashioning of an international order of peace and prosperity. We are grateful also to the Secretary-General for his broad-ranging and objective report on the subject before us.

We would like also to thank Mr. Salim A. Salim, Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), for his statement, as well as the Permanent Representative of Algeria, who spoke on behalf of the Chairman of the OAU. Those contributions are highly valuable to the work of the Council.

Brazil has strong ties with Africa. To a great extent, it is to the Africans that we owe the shaping of our own nationality. We speak of Africans as brothers and always in a spirit of solidarity. We have many forms of effective cooperation with the African countries. At the bilateral level, for example, over the past four years we have welcomed over 1,800 students from African countries. Multilaterally, I might mention Brazil's participation in peacekeeping operations in Angola.

Throughout our history we have learned from Africans. We have no advice to give them or lessons to offer. Nonetheless, it is obvious that we view certain African issues with concern, in particular the persistence of armed conflicts and obstacles that continue to impede the process of laying the foundations of sustainable development throughout the continent.

It is therefore natural that Africa should be the subject of a specific series of actions by the United Nations. The African priority is reflected in many initiatives, recent examples of which are the New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, the Special Initiative for the implementation of that Agenda, and the important report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa.

The considerable success achieved towards building peace and democracy in Africa is a source of satisfaction for us all. Likewise, mounting frustrations emphasize the collective responsibility to support Africa's efforts to overcome conflicts and poverty. This highlights the need for the international community to demonstrate, with determination and through concrete deeds, its will to do more and to be more active and more effective in its efforts at cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the countries of Africa and their subregional organizations.

The Security Council has been dealing with conflicts in Africa as they arise, but the actions that it has taken remain very timid. As was recently indicated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, day by day the perception grows among us that there is a permanent gap between words and deeds. It seems that the international community feels compelled to act jointly to mobilize the necessary political will and the needed instruments only after problems have worsened to the extent that they are extremely difficult to resolve.

What is taking place in Angola is a clear example of a conflict that, in spite of the disastrous consequences known to all, has not been given the priority that it needs from the international community. Along those same lines, President Chiluba, in his recent statement before the Council, made an eloquent appeal for more effective action by the Council in support of conflict settlement in Africa. We strongly support President Chiluba's message.

It is most important that the actions and decisions of Africans themselves should determine what happens in Africa. In this context, there are many achievements and positive trends that are the exclusive responsibility of Africans. First, there is the effort to democratize. The example of the extraordinary transition in Nigeria can be added to other processes whose impact and significance extend far beyond national borders.

The process of democratization in Africa, steadfastly supported by the resolutions of the OAU, is decisive not only in the establishment of a culture of participation and respect for human rights, but also in the promotion of basic conditions of stability for development. That is because the regulatory framework that results from democratic processes is innately stable and immune to arbitrary acts. It is therefore guarantee for the establishment and maintenance of conditions necessary for the security of economic investment.

The second positive trend, which began with the overthrow of apartheid in South Africa, is the African capacity to devise a culture of tolerance even in the most adverse conditions. The great world leader, Nelson Mandela, set an example that extends far beyond national borders and should serve as an inspiration for liberating African countries from the evils of fratricidal struggle.

The process of independence and democracy-building in Namibia and the national reconciliation in Mozambique are also eloquent examples of the African capacity to construct peace through dialogue and participation. We hope that similar processes will take place in countries such as Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as in other conflict situations.

In turn, democracy, when strengthened, is a factor for understanding and for harmonizing differences, whether intra-national or international. Democracy is also a vehicle for the promotion of peace and reconciliation between neighbours.

The third positive trend is the range of international actions to support the clear path of legitimacy, as in the strengthening of sanctions against UNITA, which took place under the leadership of Ambassador Fowler; the action to stem the illicit traffic in arms; and the efforts of the United Nations system to establish effective mechanisms to support reconstruction, rehabilitation and the promotion of sustainable development in countries emerging from conflicts. The strengthening of humanitarian assistance and of peacekeeping operations is also playing a role in that same process, which is why they, too, should be strongly supported.

As I said earlier, we are referring to trends, and it is absolutely necessary that the international community respond in a clear and positive way to those trends in order to strengthen them and to contribute to the efforts that the African countries themselves are continuously making. But I emphasize that the roots of the solutions to African problems lie in Africa, as Mr. Salim said in his eloquent statement.

Without the African struggle of the 1960s, the principle of self-determination would not be as strong as it is today in international society. Democracy in an Africa at peace will create conditions for a better and more stable world. We all need a strong, united Africa, confident in its destiny of peace and prosperity. That is the aspiration of us all. It must be the destiny of Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to my Government.

Mr. Jobe (Gambia): My delegation would like to take this opportunity to commend the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for organizing this meeting. The level at which your delegation is represented, Sir, is a clear manifestation of the interest and commitment your Government has for Africa, for which we are also grateful.

May I also thank our able Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, for his detailed report on the implementation of the recommendations contained in his report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa.

Contrary to widely held beliefs, the African continent is changing rapidly, this time for the better. No longer is it the norm to have a military dictatorship or a dictator as head of State. Democratic election as a means of gaining political power is taking root. The declaration by African heads of State and Government at the Algiers summit is clear testimony to this trend.

On the economic front as well, the African States are not doing badly. Liberalization of trade and exchange controls, privatization of industries and reform of regulatory and legal frameworks, which are prevalent in many States, clearly indicate the determination of African States to forge ahead in economic advancement for the betterment of the African people.

Unfortunately, however, this is not the whole story. While some good news is coming from many countries in Africa, the overall situation is overshadowed by conflict, civil strife, economic stagnation, refugee problems, poverty and deadly diseases. Today quite a number of African States are gripped in armed conflict, while the great majority of the Africans languish in abject

poverty. Over 8 million of its people are refugees, returnees or internally displaced persons.

This dismal picture notwithstanding, African States have begun to take greater responsibility to mitigate the plight of their peoples. And, as such, African States are making greater efforts at conflict prevention, management and resolution. The report of the Secretary-General under consideration clearly shows the successes recently achieved in several theatres of conflict, including Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

My delegation acknowledges the fact that the conflicts facing Africa are complex. In dealing with them, we agree with the Secretary-General that the root causes of the conflicts should be addressed, and not merely their symptoms. Any interventions to this end would require the involvement of the entire United Nations system. In this connection, we appreciate the efforts of various United Nations agencies and funds which are mentioned in the report.

We must, however, mention the special responsibility of the Security Council as the body which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. I will return to that matter.

The reluctance of the Security Council to deploy peacekeeping operations to Africa is unacceptable. We know that the failure in Somalia was bitter, but inaction in Rwanda and elsewhere is even worse. The failure of the Council to act in the face of serious threats to peace, security and human lives in Africa threatens the credibility and legitimacy of the Security Council.

It is no longer credible to use financial costs as a guiding principle for intervention. The United Nations should consider ways of providing more funding for peacekeeping operations. In this context, we support the appeal of the Secretary-General for more contributions to the United Nations and OAU trust funds, not as a substitute, but to complement funding of peacekeeping operations in Africa from the regular budget.

The situations in Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia and Eritrea will soon come up for consideration by the Council for the possible deployment of peacekeeping operations. The people of Africa will be watching carefully to see what the United Nations does. Undoubtedly, the credibility of the Security Council will again be put to the test. We hope that the Council will, on these occasions as well as others, rise to the challenge and come not with half-hearted measures, but with adequate measures to resolve those conflicts.

African States are now prepared to take their own initiatives to address conflict situations in the continent. Through subregional organizations and the Organization of African Unity, significant breakthroughs have been achieved. Through such mechanisms, African States will continue to contribute to conflict resolution.

However, the responsibility has to be shared. We value the cooperation among the United Nations, the OAU and subregional organizations in this regard. We have taken note of the initiatives of the Secretariat to enhance such cooperation and coordination, and we encourage the heads of the organizations concerned to continue their efforts. The partnership among the United Nations, the OAU and subregional organizations in Africa for peacekeeping is vital for obvious reasons. Strengthening Africa's peacekeeping capacity is therefore crucial. The activities of the Secretariat for this purpose, as outlined in the report, are most welcome. We must, however, emphasize that shifting responsibility for peacekeeping from the Council to the regional or subregional levels for reasons of political expediency should be avoided. As many speakers today have stressed, the Security Council cannot sub-contract its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

It cannot be gainsaid that in addressing the issue of the causes of conflict in Africa, the problem of illicit flows of arms, including small arms, must be addressed as well. My delegation welcomes the importance the Secretary-General and the United Nations attach to this question. The recent open debate of the Council on this issue will further contribute to efforts to bring about greater public awareness of this problem as a precursor of global action. We welcome and encourage the efforts of the Secretariat to heighten awareness of this problem in the African continent by engaging subregional organizations in Africa, as well as African States, in the search for solutions to this problem. Identifying international arms merchants and restricting the manufacture of and trade in small arms could contribute to reducing the troubling phenomenon of the excessive proliferation and illicit flow of arms. We encourage the Secretariat to continue its feasibility study on this, and we look forward to the recommendations that the Secretariat may submit.

Strengthening arms embargoes could also help in reducing the flow of arms. The work of the sanctions Committee under the chairmanship of Ambassador Fowler is very encouraging. However, the Secretariat should continue in its efforts to encourage African States to adopt measures to criminalize violations of Security Council arms embargoes.

In recent times, we have seen that civilians, in particular women, children and members of other vulnerable groups, suffer the most from conflicts. The recent report of the Secretary-General on the protection of civilians in armed conflict, which was considered by the Council recently, clearly spells out the magnitude of the problem. Ensuring adherence to international humanitarian and human rights law by all parties to a conflict is absolutely imperative for the security of civilians. In this context, my delegation values the important roles being played by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, by the United Nations Children's Fund, by the World Health Organization, by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and by the High Commissioner for Human Rights. My delegation also supports the various efforts undertaken by the Secretariat in conflict situations to improve the situation of civilians, in particular that of children.

A series of interventions might be necessary to help societies emerge from conflicts. However, helping to bring a conflict to a close should not be the end of our interventions. Societies emerging from conflict often require post-conflict support structures in order to help avoid a relapse into fighting. The establishment of post-conflict peace-building support offices in Liberia and more recently in Guinea-Bissau is a good example of how post-conflict support structures can contribute to the consolidation of peace. My delegation would encourage the establishment of such structures, as appropriate, for countries emerging from conflict.

The report of the Secretary-General is very detailed, and it cannot be considered in all its aspects within the limited time we have at our disposal. We can only encourage him to continue in his crusade. But we must all work together to implement the many recommendations that are contained in his report on Africa. We hope that the Secretary-General and others will continue to keep the issue of the African continent alive both inside and outside the Council. We hope that in this way greater international attention will be focused on the problems of Africa, not only on the issue of conflicts but also on the wider issues, including economic and social issues, that must be addressed as some of the many root causes of conflict. We say this because we believe that there should be a coordinated and comprehensive approach to Africa, for its problems are diverse and complex.

In this context, we welcome the interest generated by the report of the Secretary-General both within the United Nations and in other forums. It is our fervent hope that others will join in the debate to find a way forward on both the political and the socio-economic fronts.

As we enter the new millennium, we should forge a new partnership on Africa: a partnership for the renaissance of a continent long abandoned, a continent that has too frequently been marginalized. The time has now come for Africa to be respected at least for what it is. It needs friends and it needs solidarity. It is the fervent hope of my delegation that the international community will muster the political will and come forward to work with us. Together, there is no conflict we cannot settle; together, there are no economic difficulties we cannot address. All that Africa asks for is support and understanding.

I turn now to the Security Council. We know that the imposition of sanctions is a powerful coercive measure by which to put people on the right path. Of late, one African State, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, has been subjected to sanctions. We have followed the gradual negotiations in these chambers, and note that those sanctions are now suspended.

We have also observed that that same country recently organized a meeting of African heads of State or Government that is generating a lot of hope for the African continent. It is in that spirit that we would like the United States to join the United Kingdom in reaching out to that country to bring it back into the international community — of which it is already a member. That would not only contribute to reducing tension in the continent, but would give us new hope for consolidation of the results of the Sirte meeting, at which we decided that, given the various arguments heard in this very Council without any solid results for the continent, it was time for action. When we saw the rapid decisions taken on Kosovo and on Timor, we thought that, at Sirte and following Sirte, we would look for means of addressing our own problems.

We do not want this to be in the absence of the Security Council, and I therefore appeal to all members, in a fraternal spirit, to understand that only dialogue, not exclusion, can help us forge and strengthen the links that led to the creation of this Organization.

The President: I thank the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Gambia for the kind words he addressed to the Government of the Netherlands.

Mr. Dejammet (France) (*spoke in French*): I wish at the outset, Sir, to join other speakers in congratulating you, your country and your Permanent Representative to the United Nations for organizing this meeting. Your uninterrupted presence in this Chamber throughout this debate, Mr. Prime Minister, shows more vividly than any statement the depth of the commitment of the Netherlands to the cause of development and peace in Africa.

I should also like to extend my thanks to the Secretary-General for the excellent quality for his report, which is an extremely useful assessment as we consider the recommendations that were made in the April 1998 report (S/1998/318).

We have also heard a very clear statement from the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). I take this opportunity to thank him for his tireless activity, to further the cause of Africa and for his efforts to resolve the conflicts there.

We also listened carefully to the statement by the representative of Algeria, the country that currently holds the office of chairman of OAU. I believe that he gave us a very full picture of the situation in Africa, both the bright spots and the darker shadows.

Since the Security Council asked the Secretary-General for a report on Africa and thereby demonstrated its heightened interest in the future of that continent, criticism of the Security Council have resurfaced about how its degree of commitment to crises in Africa may not be the same as in crises elsewhere. Certain comments have been made on the differing levels of our commitment depending on the region involved. This has been said quite forcefully by many speakers; as the representative of Malaysia has pointed out, however, our world is one and indivisible.

We must heed the criticism, of course. However, the meeting we are holding today is indeed a welcome initiative because it will without a doubt try to respond to these justified comments, some of them critical and in any case it will enable us to renew our resolve to be as objective and impartial as we resolve to be when we met on the suggestion of the Secretary-General two years ago.

The picture has not been as bleak since then as is sometimes painted. The Secretary-General quite rightly made this very point: it is not all negative. The Secretary-General's report lets us see the areas where there have been positive and encouraging developments. It also allows us to see clearly the areas where much still remains to be done.

I shall not speak about the economic and social side of the situation: the representative of Algeria this morning painted a very accurate picture of it. I believe that the information he gave us justification for what we already take as given: we must keep on giving development assistance. However dynamic some sectors may be, it is still absolutely certain that assistance is still needed, and as we have undertaken to do, we must make a sustained effort to provide official development assistance.

Today, though, we are focusing on what has happened since April 1998 in the area of conflict prevention and settlement as well as maintenance of peace and security, which are very directly within the Council's remit. First of all, it is encouraging to see how vitally alive the regional and subregional organizations in Africa are. They have been encouraged to play a part and they have done so. Often, the part they have played has been a determining factor in settling conflicts. Let me just give a few recent examples.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), thanks to the persistence and the effectiveness of several of its leaders, and particularly its Togolese presidency, achieved the Peace Agreement for Sierra Leone which was signed in Lomé on 7 July last. We hope that it will be both definitive and lasting.

ECOWAS was also able to achieve the Peace Agreement for Guinea-Bissau in Abuja on 1 November 1998. This was subsequently supplemented by an additional protocol signed in Lomé on 15 December that year. Unfortunately, the commitments made were not lived up to, and violence broke out again in May this year.

Another regional organization that played a positive role was the Southern African Development Community (SADC). In particular, President of Zambia, Mr.

Chiluba, with a mandate from SADC, succeeded in negotiating a peace agreement for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which was signed on 10 July this year in Lusaka by the States concerned, subsequently by one party to the rebellion and finally, on 31 August, by the Congolese Rally for Democracy. The Agreement is certainly a fragile one, but at least it offers a realistic chance of peace, a chance we must not miss, a chance for arriving at a settlement.

The Organization of African Unity as a whole has become involved in seeking a solution to the conflict which has pitted Ethiopia and Eritrea against each other for one and a half years now. The peace plan it prepared, thanks to the efforts of its secretariat and its Chairmen, is now recognized by everyone as the only option, although agreement has yet to be reached on the technical arrangements for implementing it.

Finally, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development is continuing its efforts to find a way out of the internal conflict which has been ripping Somalia apart for too many years now.

This enhanced and often fruitful intervention by regional organizations is commendable. It is what we urged here two years ago. This is progress, but the part played by the regional and subregional organizations of course outside Africa does not release the United Nations and partners from their responsibilities. Here again, the experience of the past 18 months has shown that unless there is key support from the international community, the progress achieved by the Africans themselves is likely to be fragile.

For example, in Guinea-Bissau, the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was unable to deploy early enough or in sufficient numbers to carry out effectively the tasks assigned to it by the Abuja Peace Agreement and the Lomé protocol. France made a logistical and financial contribution, but other material assistance would certainly have been needed also. But the speed and scale of deployment of peacekeeping forces are often the key to success and to the solidity of a peace agreement, particularly when, as in the case of Guinea-Bissau, the atmosphere is very tense and fragile.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Lusaka Peace Agreement provides for intervention by a United Nations peacekeeping force. The initial stage has just started with the deployment of military liaison officers. The second stage will be to deploy military observers within the country. Just now we have heard SADC members express the hope that the Security Council will shoulder all its responsibilities without delay. Certainly SADC members are prepared to make an effort, and they are eager to do so; but I think that they are right in asking for the entire international community, through the United Nations, to do its part. We must not disappoint these hopes that have been fostered by the peace Agreement properly negotiated by the countries of the region.

In Sierra Leone, the Lomé Peace Agreement provides for expanding the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL), in collaboration with the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). This would involve adapting UNOMSIL's mandate and significantly increasing its resources. The United Kingdom yesterday presented the Council with certain proposals in this connection, and here again this is a simple, concrete case in which we are called upon to act in a manner that is consonant with our stated positions, which are often quite general and sometimes lofty, but which must be translated into action.

In the Central African Republic, the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic has been able to preserve peace and security, protecting that country from being infected by the fighting in the neighbouring Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Mission has also been able to create a favourable climate so that the legislative elections in late 1998 were able to take place in conditions of peace and integrity — and we hope for as much for the presidential election scheduled for this month.

Once an agreement is reached between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the United Nations will be asked to make a contribution to the deployment of observers, as foreseen in the OAU framework agreement.

Finally, where peace has been restored, the mission of the United Nations is to stimulate and coordinate the reconstruction of the economy and the rule of law. This is, for example, the very useful role that the Secretary-General's Representatives and the United Nations Offices in Liberia and Guinea-Bissau are playing, and we believe that the human and material resources of those Representatives and Offices deserve to be increased.

At a time when there is, quite rightly, talk of the need to strengthen African capacities for peacekeeping, we should draw the lessons from how recent crises have

been handled. An African multinational force is viable only if an African country is willing and able to act as the lead nation — something like the part played and still being played by Nigeria within ECOMOG in Sierra Leone. And an African multinational force is viable only if it has external logistic and financial support. It is in this context that we have to consider the joint efforts of the United States, the United Kingdom and France over the last few months, under the joint auspices of the United Nations and the OAU, to help interested African countries strengthen their peacekeeping capacities. This is, I believe, a good illustration of how cooperation among various countries can provide concrete assistance to development in Africa. Some of these countries, such as France and the United Kingdom, have had particular responsibilities in Africa, with all that has entailed in the form of positive involvement, and also of aspects that at times may have deserved further review.

If there is no regional solution that can establish a multinational African force, as would seem to be the case in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, then the lesson of past months and years is that the Security Council itself must be ready to shoulder its responsibilities and to send a United Nations peacekeeping force where it is needed to ensure respect for a peace agreement. Here the problem is quite simple. It is not just a question of speeches, but of making contributions, in accordance with the rules of the Organization, so that financial obligations can be fulfilled.

Of course, apart from these positive developments, problems remain. Angola remains immersed in armed confrontation, and unfortunately, it must be admitted that for the moment the United Nations still has only a marginal role there. Nonetheless, this tragic situation has led the Security Council to think seriously, encouraged by the Chairman of the relevant sanctions Committee, Ambassador Fowler, about ways and means of ensuring real respect for sanctions against UNITA, particularly with regard to the arms embargo, in the spirit of resolution 1196 (1998).

As was emphasized in last week's debate, the destabilizing effects of the circulation, accumulation and sale of small arms and light weapons are particularly devastating in Africa. In his report the Secretary-General reviews public-awareness measures that have been taken, but this is not enough; we have to act much more concretely and vigorously, in the spirit of the appeals we made in resolution 1209 (1998) and the presidential statement of last 24 September.

Finally, in the shadows of several conflicts in Africa, we often see illicit trafficking in precious materials — diamonds in particular — and sometimes we also see large-scale looting of the natural resources of a country by foreign armies and armed groups, which in this way finance their war efforts and buy weapons. Although it is clearly a difficult challenge, any effort to combat this trafficking and looting must be encouraged, not only by improving the application of any existing sanctions that deal with such trafficking, but also by trying to expose such incidents of organized looting.

The Secretary-General was right to say at the end of his report that "Afro-pessimism" is a dead end. Given the crises and conflicts that are ripping the continent of Africa apart, we need to show the political will to resolve problems and to acquire the resources to do so. And we need coherence between the general, lofty ideas that we proclaim in debates such as today's and the decisions that we must take on a case-by-case basis when we really try to resolve a crisis. In this connection, it is good that, thanks to you, Mr. President, we are having this debate, which allows us to confront realities and to see what we are really resolved to do at a time when the Security Council must take very concrete action in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to demonstrate — if it is really serious — its commitment to peace in Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to the presidency.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The Chinese delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for once again submitting a report on Africa and for the statement he made this morning. I would also like to thank Mr. Salim A. Salim, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the representative of Algeria, whose President is the current Chairman of the OAU, for attending today's meeting and for their statements.

At the same time, we would like to express our appreciation to you, Mr. Wim Kok, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, for having come here to preside over today's meeting, and to the Permanent Mission of the Netherlands for its efforts in arranging this meeting.

We also welcome the presence at today's meeting of Ministers from many countries.

The Secretary-General's report on Africa last year had strong repercussions in the international community, arousing the concern and drawing the attention of countries around the world and relevant international organizations, especially United Nations bodies, to the question of Africa. Last year, the Security Council held an open debate devoted to this issue, established an ad hoc Working Group and adopted a number of resolutions and presidential statements. Today, it is of great significance that we are here once again to discuss the situation in Africa and to deliberate on the progress report prepared by the Secretary-General.

We appreciate the Secretary-General's report, which presents in meticulous detail and with incisive analysis the plans laid down, the work done and the achievements made by the United Nations system over the past year in accordance with the Secretary-General's recommendations in his previous report. We take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General and the relevant United Nations bodies for their efforts to resolve the problems of Africa.

In the year since the Secretary-General's last report on Africa was issued, the African continent has experienced relative overall stability, continued economic growth, further progress in the democratization process and increased respect for human rights. Peace agreements were signed by the parties to the conflicts in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. These are all positive developments. However, we must not fail to see at the same time that the African continent is still the least developed region of the world, overwhelmed by recurrent conflicts and huge numbers of refugees. The conflicts are deep-rooted and their causes include internal and external factors alike. The African issues do not lend themselves to easy solutions and represent a daunting challenge to the international community. I should now like to make a few observations on how the international community should proceed on this question.

First, the international community should pay adequate attention to Africa from a strategic vantage point. There are more than 50 countries on the African continent. They compromise approximately half the membership of the Non-Aligned Movement and nearly one third of United Nations membership. They are an important force for world peace. Africa has a time-honoured history and rich culture. The African people are hard-working and intelligent. The continent is brimming with vitality. With its vast area and abundant resources, Africa is a huge market with unlimited economic potential. It is an integral part of world economic development. With the acceleration of globalization, the interests of countries around the world are linked more closely than ever. Without stability and prosperity on the African continent, there will be no peace or development in the world. Thus, to ensure world peace and development, it is vital to help African countries maintain stability and pursue development. The international community should treat Africa as an equal development partner and give energetic support and assistance to African countries in their endeavours.

Secondly, the international community should create a favourable external environment for Africa so that it may enjoy stability and sustained development. Towards this end, we call for the early establishment of a just and reasonable new international political and economic order. Currently, a small number of big and rich countries monopolize world affairs and dominate the international political and economic order. This state of affairs, which runs contrary to the prevalent forces of our times — multipolarization and globalization — does not reflect the needs of developing countries or help their development. For too long, Africa has been denied due concern and attention in international affairs and relegated to the lowest level of the international division of labour. Worse still, buffeted by the waves of globalization, Africa is in danger of being marginalized. If this situation is not reversed, there will be no peace or development in Africa to talk about.

Thirdly, the international community should respect the choices made by African countries themselves. The world is diverse, particularly on the African continent. Due to varying national conditions, similar issues may have different manifestations in different countries and at different times. Therefore, solutions should be tailor-made instead of uniform. The African people themselves best understand their situation and real needs. Only they can choose their path of development in the light of their specific situation. In its efforts to help Africa, the international community must take into account the specific conditions and needs of the African countries and peoples. Uniform models imposed from without do not necessarily fit the actual conditions of the African countries. The imposition of one set model and the attachment of political conditions to assistance would not really help African countries to escape their predicament.

Fourthly, the international community should give vigorous support to the efforts of regional organizations in Africa. In recent decades, regional organizations in Africa, such as the OAU, have played fundamental and important roles in safeguarding peace and stability on the

continent and promoting regional cooperation and development. At its thirty-fifth Summit, held in Algeria this year, the OAU reiterated the important principles of the African charter and adopted a series of resolutions to settle regional conflicts and to promote economic cooperation in Africa. This reflected the high hopes of African States for unity and renewal. It was an important event in OAU history.

In recent years, such regional organizations as the Economic Community of West African States, the Southern African Development Community and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development have become increasingly active. Committed to settling conflicts and pushing for economic integration in their respective regions, they have scored stunning successes. Their work enjoys the wide support of African countries and peoples and testifies to the strong desire of African countries to join forces in the pursuit of self-reliance and renewal. The international community should spare no effort in supporting such endeavours on the part of African countries. In this connection, we call on the international community further to support and cooperate with regional organizations in conflict prevention and settlement and to provide necessary assistance in cash and in kind, without political conditions, to security and peacekeeping mechanisms in Africa.

Fifthly, the international community should take concrete and meaningful action to help African countries in their development endeavours. Africa is entering a new historical period characterized by the desire for peace and the pursuit of growth and progress. More than ever, it needs the support and assistance of the international community. We call on countries around the world, especially developed countries, to help Africa by making good on their commitments to providing official development aid, reducing the debt burden of African countries and withdrawing some of their own trade barriers. Moreover, the United Nations agencies and the Bretton Woods institutions should all play even more active roles. We believe that the Secretary-General's progress report should not be taken as a signal to end the implementation of his recommendations. On the contrary, it marks the beginning of the long road that the international community will have to travel.

China has always given high priority to the issues of Africa, supported Africa and had friendly relations and close cooperation with the vast number of African countries. China is heartened to see the positive developments in recent years on the African continent and is disturbed by the continuing chaos and conflicts. We are deeply concerned by the damage done to African countries and the sufferings of the African people in conflicts, and we sympathize with them. We call upon the conflicting parties in Africa to put the fundamental interest of their country and people above everything else, and to work to solve their disputes and settle their conflicts through peaceful negotiations and other political means, in the spirit of African unity, so that peace and stability will be brought to the African continent soon.

China has always supported the legitimate demands and reasonable propositions of the African countries, as well as their efforts for the maintenance of political stability and the promotion of economic growth. We have participated actively in discussions at the United Nations on the question of Africa and pushed for the settlement of hot-spot issues; we have supported United Nations peacekeeping missions in Africa and participated in some of them. At the same time, we are committed to strengthening our economic cooperation and trade relations with African countries, and we have offered various kinds of assistance to African countries, without attaching any conditions. In the ever-changing world, we are willing to work together with African countries to search for new ways and areas for cooperation so as to inject new vitality into our friendly relations.

Africa is a continent of hope. We firmly believe that, with the African countries making their own efforts and the international community offering necessary assistance, this continent will surely see an ultimate realization of peace, stability and sustained development. We hope that the international community and the African people will work in concert, grasp the opportunities, face up to the challenges and stride hand in hand towards the beautiful future of Africa in the new millennium.

The President: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to the presidency and to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as Prime Minister of the Netherlands.

I very much agree with what was said this morning by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and also by the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU): that it is important to highlight the positive developments that have taken place and are taking place in Africa. The many problems that face Africa today tend

to make the headlines, while the continent's promises are often overlooked. Like the Secretary-General, we would warn against "Afro-pessimism". That is why we called for this debate today.

Still, African countries are grappling with war, instability and lack of development. These issues are so fundamental that the way in which we meet these challenges — and meet them we must — will affect not only the lives and future of millions of Africans, but also the credibility of the United Nations, for many years to come.

The prevention and resolution of African conflicts requires the undiminished attention, the vigorous engagement and the firm, consistent support of the world community as a whole and of this Council.

Recently, the Security Council made a necessary and vigorous collective effort to restore peace and stability to East Timor, deploying a range of instruments of pressure and influence little used in the past. A similar determination is needed for the resolution of intractable conflicts in Africa and the elimination of their causes. Many of these causes call for painstaking, long-term efforts, addressing underdevelopment and the continent's related structural problems. It is equally urgent for us to give a credible answer to matters like arms flows and the reckless, uncontrolled conduct of warlords.

Deadly conflicts in Africa, like the one between Ethiopia and Eritrea, or the appalling humanitarian drama unfolding in Angola, risk becoming forgotten wars. It is necessary to redress this imbalance and to focus our political attention on these wars and their countless victims, too.

Africa is one of the top priority areas of the Netherlands foreign policy, including our development policy. Our view of the root causes of conflicts and the promotion of sustainable development closely mirrors the Secretary-General's report on the subject.

Our proposals for a common strategy can be summed up in a few words: first, to encourage and support positive developments in Africa in a coherent manner; secondly, to place the emphasis where we can make a difference; and, thirdly, to address the underlying causes of instability and underdevelopment.

For my country, that means assisting African efforts at conflict prevention and enhancing peacekeeping capacities, through regional and subregional organizations. It means giving firm support to the integrated approach to conflicts and threats to peace, as advocated in the report of the Secretary-General. It means strengthening ties with African countries that are a force for stability on the continent. And it means concentrating bilateral aid relationships on countries with sound economic and social policies and good governance.

That is why we in my country are aiming to target at least 50 per cent of our development aid on Africa, and why debt relief for African countries is at the top of our agenda. Our policy is driven by humanitarian involvement and a sense of justice. The Netherlands will continue to provide substantial emergency aid to victims of conflict. We pledge that our efforts to rebuild the Balkans, which is of paramount importance for durable peace and stability on our European continent, will not be at the expense of our support for Africa.

The basic rule should be that peacekeeping is done by United Nations troops and financed from the United Nations peacekeeping budget. Unfortunately, too often we are forced into situations where regional peacekeeping efforts founder because of a lack of funds. As a result, complicated constructions have to be devised to serve the cause of international peace and security.

Fresh creative thinking on these issues is long overdue. African efforts at conflict prevention and peacekeeping should be vigorously supported. Let me suggest some options.

First, one idea currently being floated aims to link the extent of debt-relief with African participation in peacekeeping operations on the continent. I believe this idea can be taken further.

Secondly, where an African State undertakes to engage in a regional peacekeeping effort, enhanced assistance to that country should be considered.

Thirdly, we should take a creative look at new ways of strengthening the assistance we provide to boost preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping on the African continent.

I believe that these and similar ideas merit further examination, as part of the follow-up to the Secretary-General's recommendations and as part of our collective effort and obligation to stand by Africa in the new millennium.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukraine, His Excellency Mr. Borys Tarasyuk. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Tarasyuk (Ukraine): Ukraine appreciates and supports the Netherlands initiative in organizing this open and serious debate, so much needed by the African nations and the Security Council itself.

Let me also express gratitude to the Secretary-General for his briefing on this topic of fundamental importance for the United Nations.

The debates in the General Assembly have clearly shown the major challenges and grievances of humankind, which, unfortunately, have become hyper-magnified, most of all in Africa. Extreme poverty and lack of sustainable development, starvation and insufficient medical care are the hidden roots of the numerous armed conflicts which have swept across the continent, while economic recession and the inadequate protection of democratic values give birth to internal political instability, rebellious separatism, terror and the suffering of millions of people.

Therefore, as the highest universal Organization designed to promote global peace and security, the United Nations, and especially its Security Council, should pay primary attention to this most vulnerable continent. In this connection, my delegation believes that the kind of response provided so far by the Security Council to the real needs of the African continent should be invigorated and further pursued with the utmost perseverance and consistency. It is our common responsibility to bring peace, prosperity and sustainable development to this vast region.

As a founding member of the United Nations, Ukraine has always followed closely developments on the African continent and it supported the quest for independence of the peoples of Africa. We have a long record of providing this support in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, previously called the Committee on decolonization. Ukraine was also a very active member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, contributing to the elimination of this shameful phenomenon. That experience gave us a better understanding of the deep roots of existing problems, as well as of the complexity of their resolution.

In addition, Ukraine fully comprehends the problems of Africa, as a nation that regained its independence only eight years ago, and thus had to build its new State practically from scratch; it had to create institutions, introduce legislation and economic reforms and strengthen national identity. Therefore, allow me to share some ideas on what contribution we can all make to the efforts of the African nations to cope with their challenges.

First, we should promote advanced economic development of the region, both bilaterally and through concerted international efforts. For decades Ukraine maintained close traditional ties with African countries. Tens of thousands of African specialists graduated with higher education diplomas in Ukraine. Miles of railroads, highways and pipelines, as well as power stations and industrial plants, were constructed by Ukrainians in many countries of the African continent. After a short break, caused by our transition period, we are trying now to revive and expand these old bonds to make our contribution to economic growth and social stability, and to keep in touch with Africans' needs and aspirations. That was the main reason why Ukraine participated, for the first time, in the July summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Algiers, where I headed the Ukrainian delegation. I am deeply grateful to the Government of Algeria for the kind invitation.

Secondly, we can see that many of the current conflicts in Africa are caused by militant separatism, inter-ethnic tensions or intolerance, or are initiated by rebellious groups which resort to military force to meet their dubious ends. In this context, upholding the principle of the territorial integrity of nations within their recognized borders, Ukraine resolutely condemns any violent actions by rebels against populations and legitimate Governments.

We have gained experience in how to tackle such problems, both internally and in international relations. Ukraine has expertise in settling inter-ethnic tensions and promoting tolerance towards national minorities. One example is the successful resolution of the very delicate issues involved in bringing back, resettling and accommodating hundreds of thousands of deported Crimean Tartars, who enjoy all the rights of our democratic society and live in peace alongside other peoples of a multinational Ukraine.

Furthermore, Ukraine is making a tangible contribution to resolving the complex security problems

in its close neighbourhood, being a guarantor of peace in Transdniestria, Moldova; an active promoter of the peaceful settlement in Abkhazia, Georgia, and Nagorny Karabakh, Azerbaijan; and a negotiator and proponent of peaceful initiatives from the very beginning of the Kosovo conflict.

Our experience in political mediation and peacekeeping activities can be of interest to African nations, especially in view of the ongoing debate about authorizing United Nations peacekeeping operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in Sierra Leone. These first signs of increased attention by the Security Council to the problems of Africa will not only be important for the Lusaka and Lomé processes, but could also be of fundamental significance for the entire African continent.

In this connection, particular emphasis certainly has to be placed on closer cooperation by the United Nations with the Organization of African Unity and African subregional organizations. All this will provide clear testimony as to whether the ill-famed "Afro-fatigue syndrome" and "Afro-pessimism" have definitely given way to "Afro-enthusiasm".

Thirdly, many conflicts in Africa are aggravated by illicit arms sales and mercenary activity. Ukraine was one of the initiators of the drafting and adoption in 1989 of the International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries, and it complies in good faith with its obligations. Ukrainian legislation envisages severe criminal penalties for such activities, which are punishable by imprisonment for up to 12 years.

One of the acute problems often referred to is the need to strengthen arms embargoes and combat illicit arms flows in Africa. Ukraine commends the increased attention of the Security Council to these problems, and it is ready to fully cooperate in this field. We are seriously concerned about violations of the Council-imposed sanctions against the illegal arms trade. Such incidents indicate that international regulation in those areas has some serious breaches.

Ukraine has always strictly followed the policy of selling arms and military equipment to legitimate Governments or to companies authorized by such Governments. We have established an effective and reliable export control regime for arms sales, and are taking further measures to tighten it. At the same time, global practice now shows that, no matter how strong the export control measures that a sovereign State can establish, it cannot give a total guarantee against subsequent violations by third parties. Therefore, Ukraine proposes to convene without delay, under the auspices of the United Nations, an international meeting of experts of major arms-producing countries. Its purpose would be to elaborate effective measures to prevent the reselling of arms from the end users to third parties, and to close gaps in the relevant international instruments.

Competent authorities of Ukraine are in possession of relevant information on illegal arms trafficking in some countries, and would be ready to share it with the Security Council, as well as with the Governments of concerned States. Ukrainian experts can participate in the work of a preparatory group to set up the agenda and work out the procedures for such an experts' meeting.

I fully share the words of my Dutch colleague that Africa is a land not of troubles only, but of happiness as well; a continent not of catastrophe, but equally one of hope. I wish to assure the Council that Ukraine was together with Africa at the dawn of its liberation. It will be together with Africa in its present challenges, to help it revive and become prosperous in the future.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine for his kind words addressed to my Government.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Comoros and Ghana in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Aboud (Comoros) and Mr. Gbeho (Ghana) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The next speaker is the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Yemen, His Excellency Mr. Abdul-Qader

Ba-Jammal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement now.

Mr. Ba-Jammal (Yemen) *(spoke in Arabic):* I am highly honoured to be afforded the opportunity to speak at this special meeting of the Security Council devoted to the issue of promoting Africa's capacity to transcend its state of instability, increase the chance of peace and establish peace in practical terms.

I am most gratified to see you preside over this meeting, Sir, since your country, the friendly Kingdom of the Netherlands, is linked to Yemen by close and firm bonds. The motivation of the Republic of Yemen in participating in these deliberations should be viewed against the background of Yemeni-African relations, which have historical, geographical, human, economic, cultural and social dimensions, particularly with our neighbours in East, Central and Southern Africa. Yemen is thus an authentic participant in all aspects of the historical process unfolding in these countries because it is affected negatively or positively by all the political, economic and social changes and developments which those countries undergo.

The coastline of the Republic of Yemen extends over more than 2,500 kilometres on the Red Sea, and its maritime area contains no less than 133 islands, the nearest to the African coast being those in the Gulf of Aden — they are no more than about 22 kilometres from the opposite coast. Thus, the Yemeni and African coasts, which are clearly visible the one for the other, form a unity based on proximity and on a territorial complementarity imposed by the nature of life and by historical and geographical factors, even though the relationship has lost its regional political and economic framework.

The Yemeni political leadership has made intensive efforts to achieve cooperation with a number of countries and with regional and international bodies with a view to finding solutions for the deteriorating situations in the Horn of Africa and East and Central Africa. The tragic spectacle of African life is daily aggravated by internecine wars between States, races and tribes. We in Yemen must face the effects of these conflicts daily since our country's shores receive thousands of people fleeing these hotbeds of war and dissension and from repugnant states of anarchy in search of safe haven. Their only hope is Yemen, which provides a sanctuary from this unremitting hell.

The burdens this puts on the Yemeni people and State are very great. The weak Yemeni economy cannot sustain the ever-increasing load. The tragedy is becoming ever greater, and so far there is not a single ray of hope that peace and stability will be established in the region — especially in Somalia.

Regrettably, the major complications arising out of blatant external interventions are no secret any longer. These countries are presently experiencing further political and social fragmentation, the collapse of their institutions, economic and environmental backwardness, loss of human rights and the spread of hostile and poisonous relations in a most repugnant manner. This is the result of the chain of havoc wreaked by the will to dominate on the part of some States and groups.

The Government of the Republic of Yemen calls on the Security Council to assume responsibility for saving a situation where silence is no longer an option. It calls on the Council to support the efforts by the Organization of African Unity. It calls on the Council to expand the scope of its participation in order to find solutions that will safeguard the sovereignty of States and the unity and social concord of peoples. It calls on the Council to alleviate, on an ongoing basis, the harmful human and environmental effects that translate into hunger, poverty, epidemics and increases in the numbers of the displaced and the oppressed. The Council must endeavour to eliminate the causes of these conditions so as to halt their progression because this situation is a blot on the face of humanity.

Despite the negative effects and economic and environmental problems it faces, Yemen is fully prepared to participate with international and regional bodies and with active local forces in efforts to establish peace in the Horn of Africa and East Africa. However, it calls on the international community to assist it in coping with the burdens the situation places on its economy and on its available resources, and on the health of the human environment and its natural assets.

We stress that should the situation remain unchanged it will further endanger the maintenance of peace, threaten the safety of international and regional shipping and result in environmental pollution. Consequently, no one can deny that leaving the situation in these regions as it is will lead only to a more extensive and far-reaching catastrophe.

The Republic of Yemen has contained the crisis over the question of Yemeni Hanish with its African neighbour Eritrea in a peaceful and legal manner by resorting to international arbitration. Yemen feels that

peace can be consolidated only through international legitimacy and respect for the values and principles of civilized people, as an appropriate contribution to the cause of peace and stability in the region. This is a grave responsibility that should be appreciated by all and should be used as a model for emulation. Let us imagine a war breaking out between Yemen and its neighbour Eritrea: the effects of such a war would engulf the whole area and would affect the interests of other nations, especially since every 45 minutes a ship passes the island of Hanish loaded with fuel or tourists or cargo or is involved in fishing or research. Let us image then the catastrophe that would occur if war broke out in the Red Sea. But we decided to be prudent regarding this question. We must learn from each other and make use of the lessons we have learned. Reason and logic must prevail, as must peace, for the sake of humanity at large.

Once again we reiterate our confidence in the Security Council and we look to it to assume a more effective and diversified role by facing up to the situation in Africa and by helping its countries and peoples ensure peace and stability, in the full realization that all the African bodies and parties concerned must be aware of the active role they must play and the enormous responsibility they bear. This should be in the forefront of all international and regional endeavours.

We hope that these deliberations on peacekeeping in Africa will achieve the desired objectives and that the ideas put forward will be transformed into operational measures and effective mechanisms to safeguard the freedoms of the African peoples, their natural rights and their security and their stability.

The President: I thank the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Yemen for his kind words addressed to the presidency.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia, The Honourable Alexander Downer. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Downer (Australia): I am very pleased to have the opportunity to address the Security Council today on the important issue of Africa. Africa/Australia links are long-standing. Our connection with Africa extends back at least to the 1790s, when, during the early years of European settlement in New South Wales, Cape Town provided Sydney with shipments of flour and barley that saved the infant colony from starvation. And legend has it that the origin of the many eucalyptus trees that now grow in southern Africa can be traced back to seeds that were contained in the soil used as ballast for the colonial ships.

Our contemporary relations are based on the linkages we have with many nations of Africa through the Commonwealth, through direct people-to-people ties — as evidenced by an increasingly significant African community in Australia — and through growing economic and Government-to-Government links.

On Monday, I addressed the United Nations special session on small island developing States, emphasizing Australia's linkages with our own Asia-Pacific region. Clearly that is where our foreign policy priorities lie. But this is not to say that we do not have global horizons and that we do not recognize the fact that our relationship with Africa is one of real potential.

Our relations with the countries of Africa have always reflected our strong commitment to the principles of decolonization, self-determination and democracy, as well as an unwavering commitment to the struggle against apartheid. This was a commitment backed up by the application of sanctions at some cost to the Australian community. Australian soldiers have been involved in many United Nations and other international peacekeeping operations in Africa, including most recently in Western Sahara, Somalia and Rwanda. We are helping rid Africa of the scourge of landmines. We support the United Nations-fostered peace process in Angola and the efforts of the sanctions Committee under Ambassador Robert Fowler to strengthen sanctions against the UNITA rebels, and we support and encourage current regional peace initiatives in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

These are practical examples of Africans working together to develop solutions for African problems. Australia will continue to support and encourage these regional efforts, just as we are demonstrating our readiness to contribute to regional solutions in our own Asia-Pacific region.

The African continent is home to some 700 million people, a significant part of humanity. By any major measure of the world's well-being, therefore — whether in health, an end to famine, the fate of the environment or peace and good governance — if Africa is not faring well, the world as a whole suffers.

Australia has a modest but carefully targeted aid programme in Africa that has been maintained at an average of over $80 million Australian dollars a year over the past five years. We are helping African countries at a practical level with assistance in the areas of health, sport and education, including through scholarships and rural development programmes. Good-governance programmes — and these include more than just election monitoring — also make up a significant component of our aid budget.

Australia is also aware of the importance many African countries attach to the question of debt relief. Our Government supports the principle of providing faster, broader and deeper debt relief to heavily indebted poor countries, linked to the goals of poverty reduction, sustainable development and good governance. Australia announced at the September meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Washington just the other day that Australia would provide $A 35 million to the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Initiative. This is more than double our existing pledge.

We are realistic about the effects of this Initiative. We do not support unconditional debt relief that may give Governments an excuse not to pursue policies which promote sustainable economic growth and alleviate poverty. Unconditional debt relief could also encourage further accumulation of unsustainable debt or discourage creditors from providing future assistance. It is important that we work for a durable and sustainable solution to this problem. If debt relief is to be truly effective, it must be part of a process of sound economic management.

In the past few years, Australia's interests in Africa have taken on a new dimension with the emergence of Africa as a significant market for Australian trade. In the last five years, our exports have increased by almost 140 per cent, to $2.2 billion — more than our exports to Latin America and Eastern Europe combined. Our imports from Africa have also doubled in about the same period, albeit from a low base. Much of this growth in trade is attributable to the opening up of the market in South Africa following the abandonment of apartheid and the liberalization of many African economies.

Australians have also begun to invest in Africa, against the overall trend of falling foreign direct investment flows into Africa. We estimate that Australian investment in sub-Saharan Africa currently stands at about $A 2.5 billion. Much of this is associated with Australian mining ventures, particularly in countries such as Ghana and Tanzania, where Australian mining companies have been taking a leading role in revitalizing the mining industry.

I have spoken today of Australia's ties with Africa. With the resourcefulness, stamina and goodwill between Australians and Africans, I know that we cannot fail to build stronger and more productive links between our two lands in the future. Australia stands ready to help the nations of Africa meet the challenges of the next century, just as we have lent a hand in the past. But we must all recognize that the most important, the most fundamental, work will be done by the peoples of Africa themselves. And in that regard, although the problems still to be overcome are formidable, there is cause for optimism.

In the past decade, we have seen the end of the stain of apartheid. We have seen great strides made in conservation and environmental protection, on a local and regional basis. We have seen the beginnings of a fundamental attack on endemic famine and poverty, and the development of more sustainable economies; and we have seen more countries commit themselves to the cause of reform and good governance.

The road of change and reform is one which no country finds smooth, but it is one that we must all take, for to do otherwise is to invite stagnation and long-term decay. There will be hardships ahead for the peoples of Africa as they take this path, but they can count on the support of the Australian people in their journey. It is with great confidence, therefore, that I look at Africa at the birth of the new millennium. May it mark a new beginning for all Africans in which we may realize the full potential of that ancient continent.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Malawi, The Honourable Brown J. Mpinganjira. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mpinganjira (Malawi): Malawi is very pleased to participate in this debate under your presidency, Sir. Dutch interest and involvement in Africa and African issues are quite well known and very well documented. We are therefore delighted that you were able to call for this meeting to discuss the situation in Africa.

We are also most grateful to Secretary-General Kofi Annan for his useful briefing on the state of Africa, coming as it does soon after the briefing by President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia last week. We also thank

the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Salim Ahmed Salim, for his inspiring statement this morning.

There is no doubt that the messages that are coming out of this ancient continent are significant. These are declarations of renewed African commitment, signs of resolve and promises to act for peace and prosperity. These are voices that have come most recently from Algiers and from Sirte, with echoes all over the continent. They are calls that we believe should be taken seriously.

The question that always arises, though, is: what can the international community do to respond to Africa's call? And what can the Security Council, consistent with its responsibilities under the Charter, do to assist Africa?

The Secretary-General's incisive report on Africa last year was very specific in the recommendations that were offered. We stand by the statement that South Africa made then on behalf of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries. We are pleased that the relevant principal organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council, have devoted some time and effort to analysing and responding to the contents of that important report.

Given that it takes time for matters of this nature to coalesce and crystallize, the question still remains whether the response of the international community has been commensurate with the call to act with urgency, as contained in the Secretary General's report. The progress report of the Secretary-General, while optimistic, clearly shows that more needs to be done.

Today almost everybody acknowledges that since the end of the cold war, the world has undergone momentous and significant changes. The winds of change that have swept through the globe have rekindled hopes for a better future. Democracies have blossomed, although many remain nascent and fragile. Military dictatorships have started to give way to civilian governments.

At the end of the cold war, there were even calls for a new world order. However, most of those that have the capacity to help Africa and enable it to change for the better are reluctant to take any action, claiming that their national interests or the protection of their vital interests do not permit them so to do.

Quite often we have looked the other way, allowing arms, diamonds and other mineral resources to be sold in order to protect our vital business interests and in the name of free trade, knowing full well that such arms or the proceeds of such sales were being used in armed conflict. We have deliberately broken the sanctions regimes.

Quite often we have used aid and technical assistance to advance our own interests. Otherwise, how does one explain the statement in the Secretary-General's report that 90 per cent of the $12 billion a year spent on technical assistance is still spent on foreign expertise? We can and must do something to change this, because clearly Africa is not getting what it is said to be getting.

The point that we are trying to make is that so long as national interests or vital interests continue to inform and direct our involvement in international affairs, the chances that meaningful change will come appear very slim. We must redefine "national interest". It must of necessity give way where international consensus to act exists. It must not block such consensus.

While the task is not easy, it should not be difficult for the Security Council. Under the Charter of this Organization the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security rests with the Security Council. This is a responsibility that the entire membership has conferred on the Council. The Council must therefore act to advance the interests of the international community as a whole and not of individual members of the Council or the General Assembly. The United Nations, particularly the Security Council, should not and must not be seen as being insensitive to African problems and crises. It cannot afford to allow such a perception to germinate.

Africa is worried that our crises are receiving less and less attention from an international community which is devoting more and more attention elsewhere. In the process, whole countries in Africa have been allowed to disappear. For example, Somalia is no longer around today as a country, otherwise it would have been represented in this Chamber. And yet the international community and all of us Africans, as well as everyone else, are watching.

The Security Council has the capacity to act resolutely and expeditiously in response to crises in Africa. Many countries in Africa are ready to assist. We have the commitment. In southern Africa, for example, SADC forces have re-established peace in Lesotho, and SADC forces and SADC peace initiatives, led by

President Chiluba, have re-established the peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We are waiting for the Security Council to commit the necessary troops to keep the peace in that country. But time is of the essence; the peace there is fragile. If we wait too long, we cannot be too sure of what is going to happen next.

My own country is keen to be more involved in peacekeeping operations. We are ready to provide troops in the service of peace. We have participated in the African Crisis Response Initiative, sponsored by the United States Government, precisely because we want to be able to respond to humanitarian crises and peacekeeping challenges in a timely manner. We have also indicated to the Secretariat our readiness to enter into the Standby Arrangement System. At the same time, we are the first to realize that our intention to participate in peacekeeping operations cannot be achieved without financial assistance and logistical support. We will continue to rely on outside help for this. We have no alternative. We have no choice. The United Nations and OAU trust funds established to improve preparedness for conflict prevention and peacekeeping in Africa must be properly resourced. The Security Council can also play an important role in preventive diplomacy or conflict prevention. A clear and unequivocal message, and indeed action early on in a dispute or crisis, can make all the difference.

After so many years of dictatorship, my country is now a democracy where all human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected and promoted. Within the constraints of our resources and financial assistance from developing partners, we are trying our best to build and strengthen our democratic institutions. Unfortunately, it is not an easy task. The international climate has not been favourable, particularly to small countries like mine. Poverty and underdevelopment are a source of immense hardship to our people. We give this example only to buttress the point that the democracies that are spawning will remain fragile if the international community does not assist them to overcome their economic and financial problems. We ourselves have obeyed and followed ever so religiously all prescriptions by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), but we are still as poor and backward as we were.

The biggest challenge for the international community will be to build a durable peace and promote economic growth in Africa. Such a challenge can be met only by moving beyond our own national or vital interests. The African people need meaningful assistance, assistance that is people-centred. The Secretary-General was quite right in pointing out that it is in deeds rather than in declarations that the international community's commitment to Africa will be measured. This is a challenge that we must all live up to. That is why I was so delighted to hear the revolutionary speech made earlier this morning by the United Kingdom, and indeed by the solidarity expressed in all the speeches that I have heard here today. It is my prayer that Africa will now receive renewed attention and action.

It is my hope that when all the pieces are put together, when the principal organs have concretized their responses to the Secretary-General's report, this will lead to Africa and its people enjoying enduring peace and prosperity.

There have been references to the question of the control of small arms in Africa. We believe that that issue should not be a major problem at all, because we all know the sources of those small arms.

If those who produce small arms have the will to help Africa, they will be able to do so. There is no point in asking us in Africa to take action against small arms when they keep being pumped into Africa every day. We have seen how, because of reasons beyond our control, our resources in Africa — resources in battle-ridden countries — are being utilized. The whole world looks away in order to allow unscrupulous businessmen to trade minerals for arms in order for us to be able to continue to fight each other. The countries of the West — the developed countries — have a moral responsibility to ensure that there is stricter control over arms flowing into Africa.

AIDS is eating away at the whole of Africa. We believe that in this respect, too, Africans are working hard, encouraging people on the continent to change their attitudes. However, for those already afflicted by the disease, only cheaper medication available to a large majority of people would help ease the problem. As of now, most of the drugs used to treat AIDS are not affordable for the majority of Africans, and this will therefore continue to pose a major problem.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Malawi for the kind words he addressed to the presidency.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the Minister for International Development and Human Rights of Norway, Her Excellency Ms. Hilde Johnson. I invite her

to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Ms. Johnson (Norway): Norway remains firmly committed to peace and development in Africa. The Norwegian Government therefore welcomes the initiative to hold this open meeting of the Security Council. It gives us an opportunity to discuss the vital situation in Africa and to take stock of developments that have taken place since the Secretary-General last year issued his very substantive report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa.

It is difficult to describe the situation on the African continent as a whole without generalizing too much. Still, it would be fair to say that the situation is characterized by two major trends. On the one hand, we see old conflicts re-erupting and new ones breaking out in more than a dozen African countries. In this respect, the situation has deteriorated. At the same time, however, we are also witnessing a continued democratization process, with the transfer of power from military to civilian rule, free and fair elections and continued economic and political liberalization. In the economic field, macroeconomic development in many countries is proceeding in the right direction, and we have noted that during the 1990s annual economic growth has actually increased in many countries.

We must consolidate and carry forward the gains made so far. We must break the vicious cycles of violent conflict and underdevelopment which are still evident in far too many African countries. We fully concur with the Secretary-General that the mobilization of political will is a key factor if we are to achieve this — political will on the part of both the international community and the African nations themselves. In this respect, the discussion on conflict resolution and peacekeeping at the most recent Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Algiers was very important. The representative of Nigeria reminded us during the general debate here at the United Nations that the OAU members agreed at the summit to uphold codes of decency, ethics and minimum standards of decorum among African Governments and their leadership. And, as President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa put it, the maintenance of democracy requires that

> "in every democratic country the ordinary people should feel that they actually do enjoy the right to determine their destiny". (*A/54/PV.4*)

We welcome these forceful demonstrations of regional leadership in conflict management, and we look forward to continuing our fruitful cooperation with our African partners to increase capacity for peacekeeping and confidence-building. One example of this cooperation is the Training for Peace programme, which is financed by Norway. Since 1995 more than 300 civilian police officers and military officers have participated in courses held in 11 Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries. In addition, several seminars have been arranged in South Africa with close to 300 participants from the whole of the SADC region.

Initiatives to stop the unlawful use and excessive accumulation of small arms are crucial in a discussion of peace and stability in Africa. In some countries, support is needed to restructure the national security sector and to train personnel. Efforts to collect and destroy small arms after conflicts also merit our support. The moratorium on small arms for several West African countries was very encouraging in this respect. We join the Secretary-General in urging all African countries to participate in the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms.

Landmines constitute another serious obstacle to post-conflict reconstruction. We urge all countries Members of the United Nations to sign and ratify the Ottawa Convention. Likewise, we emphasize the need for adequate resources for mine-clearing activities. Norway has already stated its intention to contribute $120 million over five years to this task.

Let me quote from the Norwegian Prime Minister's address to the General Assembly on 20 September this year:

> "Norway remains firmly committed to peace and development in Africa. We will work with our African partners for conflict management and development cooperation. We will work with the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, subregional bodies such as the Southern African Development Community, the Economic Community of West African States and others, to achieve our common aims". (*A/54/PV.5*)

"Common aims" means developing norms, rules and institutions for dealing with conflicts of interest without resorting to weapons. It is essential to strengthen systems of governance that are participatory, transparent and accountable in countries subject to conflict. Internal war typically evolves from wide or growing disparities in political participation and the distribution of economic

assets. Building formats of governance that promote tolerance, negotiation and compromise may therefore be the best tool we have for preventing a resurgence of violence in fragile societies that are in transition from civil strife to peace. This should be part and parcel of every post-conflict and development effort.

There can be no development without peace, and no peace without development. In this sense, poverty reduction represents the most urgent challenge in Africa. It is crucial in terms of economic development, political stability and regional and global security. It is also in itself a realization of some of the most fundamental human rights in the social and economic area, and they are as important as the political and civil ones. If we are to succeed in this endeavour, we believe that the following factors must be emphasized. First, the international trend of reduced disbursements of development assistance must be reversed. Secondly, more resources must be channelled to the social sectors, specifically to education and health. And thirdly, the focus should be on the poorer segments of the population — on poverty eradication in the right sense of the word.

Norway has been well above the United Nations target for official development assistance for the past two decades. About 50 per cent of our assistance is targeted for Africa. We intend to increase our development assistance further, to up to 1 per cent of our gross national product. Special emphasis will be put on increased cooperation with our African partners, poverty alleviation, improved delivery of social services and debt reduction.

The United Nations will continue to play a central role in all the challenges I have touched upon here. The challenges facing Africa are part of a larger picture of global challenges that require global solutions. In the modern world there is no alternative to strengthening multilateralism. The United Nations is the only truly global forum where overarching common visions can be achieved. It is unique and indispensable. Let us therefore support the United Nations, make it more efficient and consolidate it is as the focal point of our efforts to improve our common future.

Again, Norway remains firmly committed to peace and development on the continent of Africa. This past year we have seen how efforts to build peace and a better life for women, children and men in many parts of the continent have been frustrated by fighting and unrest. But this must not make us falter in our efforts to build a strong and sustainable peace and a society that gives people a chance to live a decent life. With political will, economic resources and strong partnerships we have the necessary tools. It is up to us to use them. Together, we can make a difference.

The President: I thank the Minister for International Development and Human Rights of Norway for the kind words she addressed to me.

The meeting was suspended at 6.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4049 (Resumption 2)

Security Council

Fifty-fourth Year

Provisional

4049th Meeting

Thursday, 30 September 1999, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. van Walsum	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Petrella
	Bahrain	Mr. Buallay
	Brazil	Mr. Cordeiro
	Canada	Mr. Fowler
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	France	Mr. Teixeira da Silva
	Gabon	Mr. Moungara-Moussotsi
	Gambia	Mr. Faal
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Slovenia	Mr. Türk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Richmond
	United States of America	Mr. Minton

Agenda

The situation in Africa

Progress report on the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa (S/1999/1008)

99-85974 (E)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was suspended at 6.20 p.m. on Wednesday, 29 September 1999 and resumed at 10.15 a.m. on Thursday, 30 September 1999.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines, His Excellency Mr. Domingo L. Siazon, Jr. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Siazon (Philippines): First of all, allow me to commend you, Sir, and your country in particular for your commitment to peace and sustainable development in Africa.

I appreciate the candidness with which the Secretary-General has reported on Africa. His reports have held nothing back. His are reports that call on all of us to give our all in turn.

The Philippines shares with Africa similar colonial pasts, the diversities of our people, the mistakes of our leaders and the manipulations of world Powers. I do not seek to oversimplify the problems of Africa by creating analogies. Rather, I would like to emphasize the commitment of my country, though distant and facing its own challenges, to joining all others in working towards a durable peace and for sustainable development in Africa.

The Philippines commends the decision by the Foreign Ministers of the members of the Security Council on 25 September 1997 to consider the need for a concerted international effort in promoting peace and security in Africa. We are also pleased to note that the Security Council has pursued appropriate action with respect to the recommendations of the Secretary-General in document A/52/871 on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa.

Efforts aimed at preventing armed conflicts must continue to be directed towards those parts of Africa where the potential for conflict remains high. At the same time, the international community must accord the fullest support to Security Council resolutions 1196 (1998) and 1197 (1998) aimed at strengthening both the effectiveness of arms embargoes on conflict areas and the peacekeeping capacity of the African countries themselves. These are steps in the right direction. These initiatives have had some success, but more must be done.

We must be prepared to establish legal regimes that will penalize — through sanctions, for example — those who continue to transfer arms into conflict areas in Africa in excess of the legitimate defence needs of African countries. We have to put all our creative energies to work to stop the flow of small arms. Often, the illicit small arms trade and its flow of finances and profits are facilitated by bribery and corruption. We must be ready to resort to every means, to take every measure to stop the flow of small arms and the profane profits from its trade. Initiatives similar to that taken by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to reduce the scope for corruption in aid-funded procurement should be seriously considered and applied to the illicit trade in small arms.

I believe that the Security Council itself should consider these measures. The international conference on small arms and lights weapons scheduled for 2001 must also consider these approaches as possible measures to prevent the proliferation of small arms.

Stopping the proliferation of arms will have the greatest chance of success if accompanied by confidence-building initiatives. The United Nations should pursue a strategy that brings into focus all interrelated elements, encouraging concerned African countries to place at centre stage the commonality of their interests for a stable and prosperous Africa.

Principal regional actors must be involved in measures being contemplated for action as well as in the actual implementation of the measures themselves. In this regard, we fully agree with what the Secretary-General has said: that where a peace process is needed, it is the role of the United Nations, with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to help create one. The role of the OAU and regional bodies in Africa, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), in the resolution of the conflicts in Africa and its development and prosperity cannot be overemphasized.

Providing assistance to the victims of conflict is a moral imperative, and must be pursued as a complement to measures aimed at conflict resolution. While humanitarian assistance is an immediate response, it is at the same time a necessary step towards full recovery, rehabilitation and development. Humanitarian aid should not only be devoid of any semblance of politics, but must also, as much as possible, lay the initial but firm foundation for post-conflict growth.

Another critical component is the strengthening of economic foundations for sustainable development of the African countries. The mobilization of adequate resources for development is essential. Many African countries continue to rely substantially on official development assistance for development financing.
There should be no disruption of or reduction in the provision of such external financial resources to the countries in Africa. I agree completely with the Secretary-General when he said that the dramatic cuts in assistance to Africa in recent years have hurt rather than helped Africa's efforts to implement the difficult economic and political reforms which are now under way across the continent.

The challenges in Africa are challenges to all of us in the international community. But the people of Africa should be the first to resolutely respond to these challenges.

Good governance is a key foundation for building an enduring peace and promoting progress in Africa. Good governance should be the only element in considering the political legitimacy of rulers among the governed. Good governance must be based on the important principles of democracy, freedom and the rule of law.

I have worked with many Africans and I have seen their dedication and commitment to the peace and development of their continent. I knew that the African people were ready to take their future decisively into their hands. With this in mind, when I was Director-General of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) from 1985 to 1993, I supported a special programme for the industrial development of Africa and I made sure that the programme recognized the important role of the African people themselves.

As part of this programme, next month, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the Economic Commission for Africa, the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the African Development Bank, UNIDO will gather African leaders and business groups in Dakar, Senegal, to meet with Government and private sector representatives of investor nations. It is hoped that this meeting will further strengthen the basis for viable industrial partnerships and investments in Africa.

For democracy and good governance to succeed, it is important for the international community and the United Nations to provide adequate development resources to Africa. We must reinvigorate all the development initiatives in favour of African countries, such the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa, among others.

The United Nations family of agencies should intensify its activities for Africa. I commend, among others, the UNDP regional initiative, "Enterprise Africa", for facilitating and coordinating support for small- and medium-scale enterprises; the International Labour Organization's employment-generating opportunities in many parts of the continent; the assistance of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the International Trade Centre in the trade sector; UNIDO's assistance on cleaner production centres in Tanzania and Zimbabwe; and UNIDO's Alliance for Africa's Industrialization.

While the majority of Africans now live under democratic systems, much more needs to be done to ensure that democracy continues to thrive and grow. Democratic nations in the world can show the way by taking initiatives that will prime Africa's economy. I commend the initiatives before the United States Congress to pass the African trade bill, which will provide Africa with privileges similar to those contained in the Caribbean Basin Initiative. Crucial votes will be taken in the United States Senate next month on this bill, and I hope that much of what we do and say here today will somehow serve to encourage the eventual passing of the African trade bill into law.

It is likewise important that the international community find a resolution of Africa's unsustainable external debt burden. The Secretary-General has noted that any significant move to lift Africa's crippling debt burden will require concerted political action at the highest levels.

The international community has shown a willingness to address this issue. In particular, I hope that the Cologne initiative will translate itself into concrete action that provides a durable solution to the debt problem of highly indebted developing countries.

Any international action must, however, take into consideration the OAU's framework for action on debt, which called for an international agreement to clear the entire debt stock for the poorest countries in Africa within a reasonably short period of time and in the context of Africa's overall economic reforms.

As individual States, we must encourage stability and development in Africa by engaging them as fellow members of the community of nations.

On our part, the Philippines has heightened its engagement in Africa. We continue to maintain our presence through diplomatic posts, and we have continued to establish and formalize relations with more countries in Africa. We hope that in strengthening our relations we will not only encourage mutual growth, but will also share our democratic and liberal traditions. The Philippines has been at the forefront of the movement of new and restored democracies. We know at first hand how difficult it is to move forward when much of the past holds us down.

We know, however, that together new and restored democracies can achieve much. Our movement must now strengthen its engagement in Africa. The Philippines will do all it can to see this through.

The President: I thank the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines for his kind words addressed to my country.

The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation of Rwanda, His Excellency Mr. Augustin Iyamuremye. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Iyamuremye (Rwanda)(*spoke in French*): Allow me, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, to commend you and through you pay a tribute to your country, the Netherlands, for the attention you are giving our continent. We in Rwanda can testify to the enormous assistance your country gave Rwanda to help it emerge from genocide. Other evidence is this meeting of the Council, which your country convened.

I also congratulate the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the excellent, very comprehensive report he has submitted.

In addition, I pay tribute to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, for his statement yesterday.

I am delighted to be able on behalf of my country to give the Council a brief survey of the progress we have made so far and to ask the international community to support our efforts to establish lasting peace and give decisive momentum to the sustainable development of our country.

What is the situation in Rwanda regarding security and peace? I am proud to tell the Security Council that our country has overcome two major problems affecting its security: genocide has ended, and almost 3 million refugees have returned, with the assistance of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross. We are extremely grateful to all the friendly countries that have displayed solidarity towards our country.

I take this opportunity to inform the international community that peace and security now reign throughout Rwanda. Nonetheless, the forces of genocide, the Interhamwe militia and the former armed forces, are more active than ever. They are heavily armed by their allies and directed by former politicians and high-ranking officers of the EX-FAR, all adherents of an ideology of genocide. These forces of evil have only one objective — acknowledged and known to all: to complete the genocide in Rwanda, establish it throughout the subregion and exterminate all those who do not share their ideology.

In the past, we have on many occasions referred to the existence of this ideology. We have repeatedly put forward the facts, but the international community has not listened to us. Once again today we inform the international community that those same forces of evil are hovering around Rwanda at this very moment, ready to resume their odious work of extermination and destabilization in the Great Lakes region.

I urgently appeal to the Security Council to see that the Ceasefire Agreement signed in Lusaka is strictly respected by all the parties concerned. That Agreement has as its backbone two important clauses. One relates to the inter-Congolese political negotiations on a new political order in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; the other relates to tracking down and disarming the armed groups, including the militias that have been integrated into the army of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Rwanda will be vigilant with regard to implementation of that Agreement, and we hope the international community will help us. The Lusaka Agreement brings peace; its failure would have disastrous implications.

May I quote a clause from that Agreement, as a reminder of what the heads of State and Government and the other signatories expect of the United Nations:

> "The United Nations Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and in

> collaboration with the OAU shall be requested to constitute, facilitate and deploy an appropriate peacekeeping force in the DRC to ensure implementation of this Agreement; and taking into account the peculiar situation of the DRC, mandate the peacekeeping force to track down all armed groups in the DRC. In this respect, the UN Security Council shall provide the requisite mandate for the peacekeeping force." *(S/1999/815, annex, para. 11.a)*

As far as my country is concerned, "armed groups" mean, *inter alia*, the genocidal forces and the Interhamwe militia.

How is Rwanda handling such a delicate and tragic situation, in which victims live side by side with the executioners? The people of Rwanda have learned very quickly to live together again, as they used to, in spite of the fresh memory of genocide. This is explained basically by the determination of the new political leaders and others responsible at all levels to advocate mutual tolerance, reconciliation and respect for others. Our slogan is: "No one has the right to take justice into his own hands. There is no place for impunity in Rwanda. Never again."

Those who are familiar with the history of Rwanda, dating back several centuries, know that the three components of the Rwandan population have always lived together in peace and harmony, sharing the same beliefs, the same language, the same practices and customs, living side by side on the same hillsides, intermarrying — in short, a people with the same culture. Instead of strengthening that valuable asset, colonialism contributed to the disintegration of our society and institutionalized ethnic divisions.

In the past the idea of genocide had never occurred to any of the three components of our population. We are saying this not to dredge up the past, but, rather, to emphasize that Rwanda is in the process of rebuilding its social fabric, of being reborn from its own ashes, thanks to the good leadership it now has and the help of the international community. Considerable progress has been made towards reconciliation and national unity. In this context, a Commission on Unity and National Reconciliation has been established and is already operating.

My country has also made significant progress in many other areas, such as justice, the social sphere, human rights, the status of women, democracy, the economy and development.

As for our presence in the Congo, I would like, in conclusion, to tell the Security Council about the causes of conflict in our subregion. The only cause of the destabilization of the countries of the Great Lakes region is very well known and is completely recognized by the heads of State and Government of the countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Great Lakes. The Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement recognizes unequivocally that the various militias, including the Interhamwe and the EX-FAR, which advocate and practise the ideology of genocide, are the source of the insecurity throughout the region. The best action the international community can take is to contribute to the complete implementation of that Agreement.

The international community knows that if it does not contribute energetically to the fight against the ideology of genocide in the subregion, and against the intellectual revisionism looming on the horizon that would downplay the genocide in Rwanda, the peace and security of the entire region will be jeopardized. Rwanda therefore once again calls to the attention of the international community the need for, and relevance of, implementation of that Lusaka Agreement.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation of Rwanda for his kind words addressed to my country.

The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the United Republic of Tanzania, His Excellency the Honourable Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kikwete (United Republic of Tanzania): My delegation welcomes the opportunity to address the Security Council on a matter of vital concern to Africa. Tanzania regards it as a special honour, Sir, to have had your Prime Minister lead our discussions yesterday.

His presence served to underline the interest and commitment of your country to the development of Africa. It should, hopefully, also serve to re-energize our collective commitment to the pursuit of peace, stability and development for Africa. We also want to commend the Secretary-General for his current progress report on the implementation of the earlier report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa.

An opportunity to take stock of developments that have taken place since the Secretary-General issued his earlier report in 1998 is timely and urgent. Today Africa continues to face a host of challenges. But the greatest of these remains the preservation of peace and stability and the pursuit of human-centred economic development, targeting in particular the imperative of eradicating poverty.

Notwithstanding the odds, Africa has not succumbed to its fate. Lately African leaders have increasingly taken the lead in dealing with the development question and conflicts. Under the umbrella of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), subregional groupings have established their respective mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution. While this is not meant to absolve the United Nations — and, more important, the Security Council — of its responsibility for international peace and security, it is a growing recognition of the fact that Africa has to bear some responsibility for finding solutions to African problems.

It is in this regard that the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement of 10 July 1999 on the Democratic Republic of the Congo — brokered by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) — was concluded. In the same vein, our collective support is required if the people of the Congo and its neighbours are to obtain enduring peace, security and stability. The continued support of the Council is therefore not only expected, but critical. We therefore commend the commitment of the Council to support the process by providing a peacekeeping force as envisaged under the Lusaka Agreement. It is vital that the momentum of cooperation with, and support for, the sub-region and the parties involved in the conflict be sustained in order to avert the collapse of the process.

Now that we have secured the concurrence of all parties, as embodied in the Agreement, the Council must move with speed to deploy the monitors, observers and peacekeepers. We recognize that some internal arrangements on the implementation modalities remain to be finalized. This, however, need not — and, indeed, must not — stand in the way of the United Nations fulfilling its role. These matters will be worked out as we proceed in the implementation phase, which will require substantial resource outlay. We urge the Council to provide the requisite financial support, and we hope that it will.

Last week, in his address to the General Assembly, my President, His Excellency Mr. Benjamin W. Mkapa, noted that the Burundi peace process, initiated by the region and now being pursued with the facilitation of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, was proceeding well in Arusha. He also expressed the hope that the coming round of talks to start on 1 November would resolve some of the sticky issues so that a peace agreement could be reached and implemented as soon as possible. I reiterate my President's appeal to the international community to continue to urge the full participation of all the key players in the peace process. This is a call we continue to make even to the Council.

In Angola, what was once a promising peace process has collapsed. Jonas Savimbi has defied not only the will of the Angolan people, but that of the international community as a whole and of this Council in particular. In the meantime, innocent civilians, mostly women and children, continue to die and suffer as a result of the intransigence of one person. The humanitarian tragedy in Angola requires getting serious with Savimbi and his clique. Why, and for how long, will Savimbi be allowed to defy the world, and in particular the Council? We appeal to the Security Council and the international community as a whole to assist in bringing his intransigence to an end. As a result of his atrocities, Africa has condemned Savimbi as a war criminal. The Council should do likewise and resolve to take specific measures to bring him to account for his actions and his continued intransigence. It is indeed an affront to the United Nations, and the Council in particular.

Elsewhere, the Organization of African Unity has played a very critical role in the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Even as we continue to urge the parties to exercise restraint and implement the OAU peace plan, it is our hope that the OAU framework agreement will be a catalyst for durable peace between the two sisterly States. Likewise, the roles played by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the peace process in Sierra Leone and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the conflict in Somalia are to be welcomed, as we welcome a breakthrough in the long-standing Lockerbie crisis, which has brought so much hurt and suffering to the people of Libya. We commend the flexibility of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, France, the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as the facilitative role of the then President of South Africa, Mr. Nelson Mandela. We therefore hope that the Security Council will consider the appeal by the OAU for the lifting of sanctions against Libya.

While Africa has put effort and resources into peacemaking, it has been demonstrably clear that it faces a serious challenge regarding its peacekeeping capability. Undoubtedly, therefore, Africa requires far more concrete support in building its capacity to enable it to play a more meaningful role in the prevention of conflicts and, where necessary, peacekeeping. We would like to underscore the need for the Security Council to look into better ways and modalities of working with and supporting African regional initiatives. Experience has demonstrated that existing support mechanisms, such as the trust funds and the standby arrangements, are inadequate and increasingly ineffective. The Council should therefore seriously look into how better, efficient and more resourced arrangements can be worked out. Such arrangements should also permit broader participation, especially of the African countries and peoples.

It would appear that African conflicts have created a ready market for arms merchants. More than that, it is also clear that the intensity of these conflicts would have been restrained if the flow of arms were more restricted. These arms have ravaged countries and peoples. They have usurped resources to breed death, pain and suffering instead of prosperity. Innocent civilians continue to suffer because of this immoral trade, which has wrought nothing but anarchy and instability. We must condemn the arms merchants, as we do those who sustain war in Africa.

The relationship between conflict situations and refugees is painfully obvious to Tanzania. The predominance of conflicts in Africa, according to the January 1999 report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, has generated 7.2 million refugees. This figure does not include millions of internally displaced persons. This is a sad human tragedy. Tanzania is currently hosting at least 890,000 refugees. This number includes those hosted by the UNHCR in the camps, those taken care of in refugee settlements and those being hosted by the local population. This is an enormous burden on a poor country like mine in economic, social, political and environmental terms. It is especially so as we struggle to cope with this daunting task while weighed down by a colossal debt burden and important debt challenges.

Even in the face of such monumental challenges, we continue to patiently carry the burden of refugees, with its far-reaching consequences on the host local communities. While we have never refused entry and refuge to anyone running to save his or her life, and have not negotiated refugee quotas for those that seek refuge in our country, our people are becoming increasingly concerned about the inordinate burden we shoulder. We, however, continue to take them in, not because they are Africans, but as a humanitarian gesture, in the African way, and we also take them in as our international obligation.

But we are also becoming concerned that we cannot sustain the sacrifice we have been making without increased international support. I should here again reiterate the appeal made by my President for greater support for the efforts and resources expended by our Government, as well as for UNHCR and other relief agencies working in Tanzania.

Tanzania is very conscious that while refugees are a product of conflict, they are also often potential causes of a vicious cycle of conflict. We have at times learned in dismay of charges about our country being a hotbed of elements within refugee camps bent on overthrowing authorities in their mother country: a case of abused hospitality.

The refugee aspect is important, because it is our belief that the problem has not obtained sufficient attention as a humanitarian problem, at least not in Africa. And yet this remains a problem with a severe destabilizing effect, both internally for the host country and in the region as a contributing factor to conflicts in the continent. We cannot afford to pick and choose those to whom we should render assistance. The legitimacy of our collective effort rests in our shared faith in the dignity and worth of the human person.

While there is no denying that only good governance, human rights and genuine democracy can stem the haemorrhage of citizens from one's country, with its attendant problems, support for the necessary structures of governance and the rule of law continue to be an important factor for success, peace and stability. But it also needs to be underscored that Africa is not, and must not be seen to be, inherently unstable and riven by conflict. The Secretary-General notes in the current progress report that good governance, accountability, transparency and the rule of law are gaining ground in each region of Africa. We fully agree with his view expressed in paragraph 97 of the report (S/1999/1008) that

> "What the outside world may not have noticed is that much of what it has been calling for is now happening."

Africa does not need more exhortations. It needs support in strengthening its structures of governance and the rule of law. What it needs is more concrete resources to enable it to pursue meaningfully the course of action it has chosen for itself.

In his report on the causes of conflict in Africa, the Secretary-General quite rightly identified poverty as a source of conflict. It is no coincidence that most of the conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa are confined to countries with a high illiteracy rate and a per capita income of no more than $260. It is important that as we devise strategies to assist Africa overcome its present difficulties we should be mindful of its debt burden as one of the obstacles to poverty alleviation. While we welcome the various debt relief initiatives undertaken by the donor community, far-reaching measures need to be taken if an impact on poverty is to be made.

The importance of addressing poverty eradication as a part of the strategy to prevent conflicts is obvious to all of us. Needless to say, a lot of effort is being made in our own countries as a contribution to this endeavour. This has ranged from specific measures designed to increase domestic resources earmarked for development to the empowerment of our people and communities to participate in designing and managing programmes for sustainable development. The pursuit of this endeavour has often been taken at great political risk, but it is taken in the belief that creating favourable domestic conditions to spur investment and development is primarily our own responsibility.

Our hope is, however, that the conducive material conditions we create locally will be a catalyst to spur investment and assistance that will, in the long run, render that assistance unnecessary. This should also help generate economies in Africa that will act as models for conflict-prone regions. But Africa cannot undertake this Herculean task unaided. We recognize with magnanimity the best intentions made here and in other well-meaning forums. It has often, however, been noted that the best of intentions and goodwill have to be matched with the provision of adequate resources for an effective fight against poverty in the continent. The Secretary-General rightly observes, in paragraph 104 of his report, that

> "More decisive action on debt is an urgent requirement."

This is the challenge we face.

In conclusion, Tanzania welcomes concerns about Africa at the level of the Security Council. It is our hope that this present dialogue will live up to the expectations it is generating. We also believe Africa is bound to turn around, and that the prosperity of Africa will create opportunity not only for Africa, but for the international community at large. Most of us are today labouring hard to heal ethnic divisions, care for refugees, build a civil society and establish structures for genuine democracy. Most of our leaders and peoples now understand that the future of our countries depends on trade, science and technology. Many are labouring to ensure good governance and transparency and to introduce structural reforms. Progress towards this end may not come as swiftly as we may wish, but we owe it to Africa and the humanity we all share to assist as much as we can.

This is Africa's hour of need. The help rendered to Africa would be a credible investment for all of us. Africa has great promise as well as potential. Dismissing this promise and potential is to act to the detriment not only of Africa, but also of the international community.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the United Republic of Tanzania for his kind words addressed to my country.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Jamaica in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mullings (Jamaica) took a seat at the side of the Council table.

The President: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Togo, His Excellency Mr. Joseph Kokou Koffigoh. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Koffigoh (Togo) (*spoke in French*): It is a great honour for me to speak before the Security Council

as it once again considers the situation in Africa, in the light of the report on the state of that continent introduced yesterday morning by the Secretary-General.

Allow me first to congratulate you most warmly, Mr. President, on the most outstanding way in which your country, the Netherlands, has been handling the presidency of the Council at this particularly busy time.

I likewise pay special tribute to the Secretary-General for his progress report, which tells of the steps that have been taken in the course of a little over a year. This exercise once again illustrates his ongoing interest in Africa, which is unfortunately still grappling with all kinds of difficulties.

In his first report (S/1998/318) on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa the Secretary-General set out the great problems confronting our continent and the fundamental principles that should provide a basis for resolving them.

He called on African States to take the steps needed to bring about democracy and the rule of law and to enter into reforms to promote good governance and good management of public affairs. He also urged the international community to cooperate with regional and subregional organizations by supporting their initiatives on the maintenance and consolidation of peace.

After the report was issued, the Security Council undertook an in-depth analysis of the recommendations contained in it, *inter alia* with the assistance of a working group set up for that purpose. That process led to some soul-searching about various problems and to major statements of commitment on the part of members of the Council. Thus we welcomed the Council's backing of regional and subregional initiatives and its strong support for strengthening the ability of African States to combat illicit flows of small arms and light weapons into and within Africa.

In the presidential statement issued following its ministerial meeting of 24 September 1998, the Council called on all Member States and organizations concerned to provide the necessary financial and technical support so as to strengthen existing African regional and subregional arrangements for conflict prevention, the maintenance of peace and security, and the settlement of disputes.

In addition, the Council advocated strengthening the partnerships between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations. As one can see, the process that is now under way is an encouraging one and offers some grounds for optimism. It is to be hoped that it will lead to concrete steps that will enable Africa resolutely to set forth on the road to progress and development.

In this connection, we should remember that under the provisions of its resolution 1170 (1998), the Security Council was to assess the progress made in the promotion of peace and security in Africa only next year. The recent progress report of the Secretary-General and the convening under your presidency, Sir, of this meeting, is proof of the heightened awareness of our continent, Africa, and we would express our appreciation.

Much has been said since yesterday about African States, so I would like simply to pay tribute to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity and to its Chairman, through his representative, who spoke yesterday on his behalf, as well as to the other representatives who fully assessed the situation and proposed solutions in support of initiatives currently under way.

In many parts of Africa, democratic elections are gradually becoming the rule, not the exception. Good governance, transparency and a state based on the rule of law are now slowly but surely becoming established in all parts of our continent. African conflict-settlement mechanisms have also developed significantly in the last few years.

Here I would mention the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), since more authoritative voices than mine spoke yesterday about the continent as a whole. ECOWAS, for its part, is striving to strengthen its Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, whose establishment was a major milestone in the strengthening of West Africa's capacities for preventive diplomacy and the re-establishment and maintenance of peace.

The ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) enabled ECOWAS to cope — with varying degrees of success, admittedly, but nevertheless fairly effectively — with the crisis situations in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau.

Let me take this opportunity to express once again the appreciation of the current Chairman of the

Conference of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS — the President of my country, Mr. Gnassingbé Eyadema — for the sustained attention given by the Security Council to the preservation of peace and security in our subregion.

Managing post-conflict situations is another matter that we should focus on, because often the post-war period has not been managed adequately in Africa. In many cases, parties to a conflict have stockpiled large reserves of weapons, which are often distributed in an uncontrolled manner and can thus contribute to the resumption of hostilities.

It is therefore imperative that the international community, on the basis of the relevant recommendations of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, support the countries concerned in carrying out their programmes for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. It should also respond immediately to their long-term needs in the areas of reconstruction and recovery.

In this connection, I welcome the proposal by the Secretary-General in his recent report on Sierra Leone to establish a United Nations force in that country, pursuant to the Lomé Peace Agreement. I believe that the Security Council will authorize the prompt deployment of that force, which, in accordance with the mandate to be given it, will help the Sierra Leonean Government to implement the plan for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

Let me recall that a delay in the deployment of troops had significant repercussions on the development of the situation last May in Guinea-Bissau. We strongly hope that, having learned from that experience, and with the commitments just made to strengthen, with the support of the Security Council, the peacekeeping force in Sierra Leone, the deployment will take place in that country as soon as possible.

Guinea-Bissau had been expecting at least 1,500 troops. With France's help, 600 men were deployed, but with tensions high the poorly equipped troops were not, unfortunately, able to do anything when the situation deteriorated. There is no doubt, therefore, that the initiative currently under way with respect to Sierra Leone will help to ease the justified concern recently expressed by the Sierra Leonean Government with respect to the implementation of that programme. Peace in Sierra Leone is indispensable, because any delay in this respect would have a negative impact on the situation in Guinea, which has shouldered a heavy burden in terms of refugee flows, and on Liberia, for which great sacrifices have already been made.

While the efforts made to date to strengthen African peacekeeping capacity are commendable, they of course do not absolve the international community or the Security Council from their responsibilities, particularly in that the Charter of the United Nations gives the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Public opinion in West Africa is that the international community is tending to rely primarily on the regional efforts that are under way and not providing sufficient support. Our countries are still economically and socially weak, and the burden of trying to resolve regional conflicts has a very negative impact on our national budgets, on our education programmes, and so on. The international community should not use its financial and logistical assistance to African States, modest as it is, as a pretext to disengage from the continent. It seems likely that Africa will continue to need logistical support and financial resources for a long time to come, particularly if it is to succeed in re-establishing and maintaining peace.

Furthermore, the recent conflicts more or less throughout Africa have shown how historical or even linguistic considerations can complicate regional efforts to settle conflicts. In such situations, the direct involvement of the United Nations is sometimes essential if peace is to be preserved.

Given these requirements, it is regrettable that equal attention has not been given to all crises and conflict situations. I listened with great interest yesterday to the comment of the representative of Algeria, who said that "suffering knows no colour".

On 21 September, President Chiluba underlined that same point in his briefing to the Council on the situation in the Great Lakes region when he quite rightly said that when the international community deals with issues relating to Africa, cost is always the decisive factor and almost becomes an obstacle to effective United Nations participation. It is to be hoped that the current operations and future initiatives will help correct this tendency to marginalize Africa, which asks only that it be accompanied in its efforts to promote durable peace and sustainable development.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Togo for the kind words he addressed to my delegation.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the Minister of State for External Affairs of India, Her Excellency Mrs. Vasundhara Raje. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement now.

Mrs. Raje (India): Even though the ministerial meeting proposed by the Secretary-General will be held next year, I welcome this opportunity to speak to the Council about Africa, a continent with which we in India have close and historical bonds. The Secretary-General's report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa, issued in April 1998, made a series of recommendations to the United Nations system and to Member States. A year has elapsed and it is time to take stock, as the Secretary-General has done in his progress report.

As we said last year, most of the problems that the Secretary-General identified in his report are outside the mandate of the Security Council to address. However, since in this debate we will look at the totality of the challenges facing Africa — if only to set the problems of conflict and security in perspective — I will refer also to those issues highlighted in the report where responsibility for action lies elsewhere than with the Council.

We note with interest the modest, practical steps that the report suggests in the section on responding to situations of conflict. We would all agree that it is always sensible, as a general principle not limited to Africa, to avoid rival mediation efforts; sometimes, this has led to tensions between the mediators which feed back into the conflict. Contact groups and special conferences may be helpful, though by definition they become useful — and should be set up — only when the parties to a conflict are prepared to talk.

We have participated in the Interlaken process, and would be interested to see targeted sanctions work. We believe that the focus of the exercise should be to lessen the impact of the sanctions on the innocent, in Africa and elsewhere, rather than on easing the administrative burden for the international banks through which financial sanctions are imposed. A related but crucial point needs to be made here: as one of the reports (E/1999/16) submitted to the Economic and Social Council earlier this year noted, Africa has suffered massive capital flight, estimated at about $22 billion between 1982 and 1991; these outflows, which have grown even larger since then, represent the fruits of corruption and have been invested in banks in developed countries. The Secretary-General's report calls for steps to check corruption in Africa, but as the report to the Economic and Social Council made clear, Africa urgently and rather desperately needs these funds back, and to achieve that aim it needs the help of the foreign Governments where these banks are based. Corruption cannot be staunched at source if bribes can be safely squirrelled away abroad.

We note that the Secretariat is working with African States to make the violation of Security Council arms embargoes a criminal offence under national legislation. This is an interesting tack to take, but since most of the arms used in African conflicts are made on other continents and exported there, quite often in the full knowledge that they will be used by those on whom embargoes have been placed, any legislation that African States enact will be ineffective unless there are equally strict legal checks in the arms-exporting countries.

On reducing arms purchases to below 1.5 per cent of gross domestic product, the report notes that many countries in Africa were of the view that this would be difficult to implement. Again, almost by definition, this is not a figure that can be given general sanctity.

We are surprised that the report is silent on mercenaries. It is well established that mercenaries are sustaining several ongoing conflicts, have committed horrible violations of human rights and humanitarian law and actively market their services to antagonists in Africa. Most of them come from countries outside the continent that have recently pruned their armies. Again, this is a problem for Africa whose solution does not lie in African hands.

The other important omission is terrorism, which has bedeviled Africa and African security as it has many other parts of the world. At the recent Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Algiers, African leaders pledged themselves to work for an international and global convention for the struggle against all forms of terrorism. We welcome and support this call.

We welcome international efforts to strengthen Africa's capacity for peacekeeping. The international conference on United Nations peacekeeping, which we hosted in New Delhi in March this year, had a major emphasis on peacekeeping in Africa. We made a special effort to ensure wide African participation, and trust that

those who attended found the experience useful. We have contributed to almost every peacekeeping operation mounted by the United Nations in Africa, and will remain committed to peacekeeping efforts there.

African peacekeeping capacities are being developed, but this should not become an excuse for the Security Council to abdicate its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security and refuse to set up peacekeeping operations in Africa on the basis that they would require extra resources, involve physical risks to peacekeepers or could be long-drawn-out. All regions of the world should be dealt with equally, and equally transparently, and Africa deserves not just the Council's attention in debates like these, but the prompt dispatch of United Nations peacekeeping operations whenever they are required.

Most of the points made in the section on humanitarian assistance recapitulate the recommendations made in the recent report to the Security Council on the protection of civilians in armed conflict (S/1999/957). I shall say only that in a statement to the Council earlier this month (S/PV.4046 (Resumption 1)) we explained in detail why we believe that those recommendations need much closer examination and should not be accepted as a basis for action.

In general, anything the Security Council does for Africa is likely to be insufficient unless there are concrete international efforts to address its underlying problems effectively; as the Secretary General has said, development is an essential condition for the maintenance of peace and security. How has Africa done over the last year? The figures we have from the United Nations system are confusing.

The annual summary of the economic and social situation in Africa submitted this year to the Economic and Social Council put the figure for gross domestic product growth in 1998 at 3.3 per cent, up from 2.9 per cent in 1997, the highest growth rate of any region in the world; it reported that the 33 African least developed countries increased their growth rate from 2.4 per cent in 1997 to 4.1 per cent in 1998. This is heartening, but the *World Economic and Social Survey 1999*, prepared by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, claims that African growth has declined from 2.7 per cent in 1997 to 2.5 per cent in 1998. We hope that United Nations assessments will not vary so widely; it becomes difficult otherwise for Member States to judge what the objective situation is.

Also, we need to break down the problem if we are to make meaningful recommendations; western, eastern and southern Africa have had a particularly difficult time, but within those regions, according to the *Survey*, countries in the CFA franc zone have done rather well, some growing by 4.9 per cent in 1998 and others by 5.5 per cent. It is clear that we need to address in other forums the specific needs of countries and subregions in Africa and help them craft appropriate solutions based on local endowments.

We are disappointed that section III of the report, on building a durable peace and promoting economic growth, considers aspects of good governance in far more detail than it does practical measures to promote growth. Effective, transparent and accountable governance responsive to the needs and priorities of the governed is important, but linking assistance and investment to arbitrary norms not related to economic parameters will promote neither human rights nor prosperity. In contrast, the report to the Economic and Social Council clearly establishes the close relationship between income and well-being. Eight of the 10 best performers in the Borda rankings in Africa were also among the top 10 in terms of per capita income, countering that claim often made that human development is not necessarily dependent on income growth.

The report urges African countries to create a positive environment for investment, including through greater attention to human resources and public health, but other reports from the United Nations system fill out the picture. On investment, the *World Investment Report*, published by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, pointed out last year that foreign direct investment in Africa yielded greater returns than that in any other region. That report also found that, above all, foreign investors looked for African countries with an open, well-regulated macroeconomic environment; the recommendation in the Secretary-General's report that African countries should create an enabling environment to attract investment is therefore a sound one.

However, the *World Investment Report* also found that almost all foreign direct investment into Africa was sunk into the quick exploitation of natural resources. In other words, if two African countries had natural resources, such as oil or gas, of immediate interest to foreign investors, the one with the more stable environment would stand a better chance of getting the investment. However, those African countries that do not have commercially attractive natural resources, no matter

how well they are governed or how stable their macroeconomic environments may be, are unlikely to get substantial foreign investment. Since these are the countries that often need foreign direct investment most, there is a clear disjunction between need and supply, which needs to be addressed. Across the continent, to illustrate this point, industrial-sector growth, which has driven development in all regions, has declined from 3.8 per cent in 1997 to 3.2 per cent in 1998, largely because investments are absent.

Even more telling, the Economic Commission for Africa has reminded us that the gap that needs to be financed by external resources if Africa is to reduce poverty is 9 per cent of African gross domestic product, which is almost the same figure as for official development assistance. In most developing economies that have taken off, that gap was hardly ever more than between 2 per cent and 3 per cent. The figure for Africa demonstrates the qualitatively different nature of African need; the decline in net inflows and the limited scope of foreign interest are therefore even more disturbing.

On public health, the report refers to the challenges of both HIV/AIDS and malaria, again perhaps without spelling out the magnitude of the problem Africa faces. The *World Health Report 1999*, published by the World Health Organization, describes the challenge of malaria in Africa as a social and economic development issue, not just a health concern, and it also goes on to say that because the adverse economic impact of malaria in Africa has been estimated to be greater than 1 per cent of gross domestic product, it could be considered a cause, and not just a consequence, of underdevelopment. Determined international action to eradicate malaria could thus add at least 1 per cent to African gross domestic product; this is far more doable than putting an arbitrary cap, for instance, on defence spending.

On AIDS, the latest World Health Organization figures for Africa are 54 million infected, and the *Human Development Report* published by the United Nations Development Programme informs us that the cost of the medication developed by Glaxo Wellcome has come down from $10,000 to $3,000 per patient per annum, which is still well beyond African means. If all 54 million Africans are to be treated, the cost to the continent per annum could well be $162 billion. Where is this money to come from? This touches upon the general question of neglect and non-application in the developing world of cutting-edge scientific and technological research in the areas of health and upon the need for urgently exploring innovative ways of financing the application of this research, particularly in Africa.

India has contributed to the best of its ability to the promotion of peace and sustainable development in Africa. We attach the highest priority to economic cooperation with Africa. A primary instrument of our technical cooperation with Africa has been the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme, which has trained some 20,000 African nationals so far in fields including banking, foreign trade, hydrology and water resources, communications, electronics, satellite imaging, agriculture, small and medium industry, software, renewable energy sources and the like. Over 15,000 African students study in India. We provide 1,350 training slots every year in our best educational institutions, of which nearly 60 per cent are reserved for nominees from Africa. The Programme also implements a variety of technical assistance projects in Africa. Training and mutual cooperation in human rights, in the conduct of elections, in parliamentary procedures and in public sector administration are important components of our multifaceted relationship.

Several Indian companies have established joint ventures in Africa, infusing capital, upgrading technology levels and promoting job creation. Indian industry is involved in a significant way in the development of African infrastructure in sectors such as railways. In 1998, we set up a revolving fund for Africa for promoting trade, investment and technology sharing, as well as for revitalizing our bilateral trade with Africa and for investing in Africa's development.

Africa will remain the highest priority for us as a partner in cooperation. We hope it will be a priority for the United Nations system as well.

The President: The next speaker is the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Slovakia, His Excellency Mr. Jaroslav Chlebo. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Chlebo (Slovakia): I wish to begin by congratulating the Netherlands, and you personally, Sir, on your excellent conduct of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I would like also to thank your predecessor, the representative of the Republic of Namibia, for his effective leadership of the Security Council during the month of August.

Slovakia welcomes the initiative of the Netherlands to convene this important meeting on Africa in a timely manner, and considers it to be a very promising step towards a final solution of the pending problems of Africa.

Slovakia warmly welcomes the Secretary-General's recent report on progress in promoting durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. We also appreciate the briefing held last week by Mr. Frederick Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia, on the situation in Africa, and all other activities which have taken place in order to help Africa seek peace and development.

There is no doubt that in recent years the continent of Africa has made significant progress on its way to stability and prosperity. Despite certain achievements, however, at the threshold of the new millennium, Africa still remains afflicted and threatened by a great number of conflicts and tensions. Without an appropriate approach, those tensions can quickly be turned into new, devastating conflicts.

Timely responses to and peaceful resolutions of disputes are essential for promoting durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. It is clear that an active and functional partnership between Africa and the international community is one of the key priorities for preventing and resolving conflicts and for helping Africa create an environment for the economic growth of its countries. The continued and increased assistance of the international community is also important for building and enhancing African peacekeeping capacity to handle crises. However, this cannot be a substitute for the responsibility of Africa itself. Africa must show the political will to seek political rather than military responses to problems and commit itself to the principles of good governance with strict respect for human rights and the rule of law. In this respect, we have welcomed the determination of African leaders to promote democracy and the rule of law, as was recently stated at the thirty-fifth summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Algiers. Only in an environment of good governance can countries ensure their stability and prosperity.

Regional arrangements have already become an integral part of the common effort of the international community for maintaining peace and security in Africa. Slovakia welcomes and fully supports increasing cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and Africa with regard to peacekeeping. Peacekeeping operations still continue to play an indispensable role in resolving ongoing conflicts. We should recognize the important role that the African regional and subregional organizations — such as the OAU, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) — have played in addressing particular disputes and in carrying out peacekeeping missions in several African countries. We should provide them with the necessary financial and material resources.

In this regard, Slovakia commends the activities of ECOWAS and, in particular, of the President of Togo leading to the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement, which has given new hope to the people of Sierra Leone. We also greatly appreciate the diplomatic and mediation efforts of the President of Zambia, which facilitated the signing of the Ceasefire Agreement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has helped create positive conditions for a restoration of peace in the Great Lakes region.

No doubt the peace process is not complete, and the cooperation and the assistance of the international community cannot stop after a restoration of peace. Durable results — lasting peace and development — cannot be achieved or maintained without adequate follow-up. A clear and smooth transition from peacekeeping operations to post-conflict peace-building is required. All factors needed for reconciliation, reconstruction and the creation of conditions for economic growth should be addressed and strengthened in order to prevent a resumption of the conflict. A valuable example, in my view, has been set by Mozambique, not only in resolving its internal conflict but also in its determination to fight one of the most widespread diseases of conflicts on this continent, anti-personnel landmines.

Since its establishment as an independent State in January 1993, Slovakia has participated in a number of United Nations peacekeeping operations in Africa, as well as in other parts of the world. To date, nearly 3,000 Slovak peacekeepers have served under the United Nations flag in peacekeeping missions. On the continent of Africa, Slovakia has been actively involved in the United Nations Missions in Angola, Rwanda, the Uganda-Rwanda border region, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Furthermore, Slovakia is ready to contribute an engineering unit of 150 personnel for mine clearance activities in the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara and has also recently expressed its readiness to dispatch Slovak peacekeepers to a possible United Nations mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Speaking in terms of the number of troops per

capita, Slovakia is among the leading troop-contributing countries.

Moreover, in order to improve Africa's capacity for conflict prevention and resolution, Slovakia stands ready to contribute to this effort and to offer facilities at its Training Centre for Peacekeeping Operations, in particular providing training for engineering units.

We recognize the problem of anti-personnel mines as a great burden to post-conflict rehabilitation and the promotion of sustainable development in afflicted regions. The commitment of Slovakia to the resolution of this issue is demonstrated not only by its ratification of the Ottawa Convention this year but also by its active participation in demining activities in peacekeeping operations. Slovakia is prepared to continue providing its skills, techniques and equipment in this regard.

Specific situations require the application of specific measures, including sanctions imposed by the Security Council. The imposition of sanctions can be used as a measure of enforcement, but it should rather be used as a measure of prevention. We share the view that better targeting of sanctions is needed in order to ensure that they will achieve their purpose with greater impact on political leaders and decision makers.

In this regard, special attention should be paid to arms embargoes which can be a key instruments in the prevention of the flow of illicit arms and related *matériel* into zones of conflict or tension in Africa. Therefore, the United Nations and the international community must take all measures available to enforce effective implementation of a Security Council arms embargo, *inter alia*, through the identification of the sources of arms flows.

A bitter example of the violation of an arms embargo is seen in Angola. In that country the United Nations peacekeeping operation has failed, and the effort of the international community has also been brought to naught because of continued supply of weapons to UNITA.

We are concerned that the sanctions of the Security Council are mostly violated by non-African countries, some of which even want to be recognized as contributors to international peace and security. Slovakia firmly adheres to all of the Security Council's decisions, including those on sanctions. As a future Chairman of the Wassenaar Arrangement for the control of the export of dual-use materials and technologies and conventional weapons, Slovakia would like to contribute to the effective work of the Arrangement and thus strengthen international and regional stability.

We recognize the importance of building and enhancing a close relationship with African countries. We fully support the intention of the European Union (EU) to hold a summit with African countries next year, and we align ourselves with the positions of the EU which will be presented by the representative of Finland later in this debate.

Slovakia appreciates traditionally good relations and mutual cooperation with African countries. Entering the new millennium, we will continue enhancing our partnership with those countries in order to help Africa build its future. Slovakia stands ready to contribute to any efforts of the international community to respond positively and constructively to Africa's needs and to promote peace, sustainable development, human rights and good governance on this beautiful continent. For that noble task, we must identify proper means and sufficient resources without delay.

The President: I thank the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Slovakia for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the Minister for External Relations of the Republic of the Sudan, His Excellency Mr. Mustafa Osman Ismail. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ismail (Sudan) (*spoke in Arabic*): My delegation would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month, which abounds with activity and international meetings. We would also like to express our appreciation to you for holding so many open debates on many current subjects of ongoing concern and interest for the international community. Our appreciation and thanks also go to the Secretary-General for his progress report on the implementation of his recommendations regarding the main causes of conflict in Africa — the subject of this debate.

My delegation studied carefully the report of the Secretary-General contained in document S/1999/1008. We would like to make the following brief remarks in the hope that they will advance the discussion.

Paragraph 2 of the report states that

"The Security Council established its own ad hoc Working Group to review the recommendations in the report pertaining to peace and security. The Working Group developed concrete proposals for action on: (a) support for regional and subregional initiatives in the areas of conflict prevention and maintenance of peace; (b) establishment of an international mechanism to assist host Governments in maintaining the security and neutrality of refugee camps; (c) strengthening of Africa's peacekeeping capacity; (d) strengthening the effectiveness of arms sanctions regimes imposed by the Security Council".

In this connection we would like to thank the Council for its interest in establishing the ad hoc Working Group to study and submit proposals on the aforementioned points. We would have liked to see the text of these proposals in the body of the Secretary-General's follow-up report. We would also have liked to see to what extent this report has taken into consideration the views of the States that are not members of the Council, particularly those views expressed during earlier debates on the causes of conflict in Africa and those that contained valuable ideas on the sanctions system and on the role of regional organizations and other issues.

As for the part on targeting sanctions, the report of the Secretary-General refers to the efforts of non-governmental organizations and to the symposiums that some countries have sponsored on this particular topic. The Secretariat provided technical support to this symposium, as is mentioned in paragraph 12 of the report.

In this respect we would like to reaffirm the necessity of taking into consideration the views of the Member States of the United Nations on sanctions because, in the final analysis, they are directly concerned. In this regard, the report does not take into consideration the resolution adopted by the General Assembly by consensus in relation to "An Agenda for Peace".

As for the problem of the illicit flow of small arms and light weapons, my delegation would like to recall the necessity of finding a solution to this problem, by dealing with it through a mechanism that, by means of effective supervision, would stop rebel movements and gangs from getting hold of these arms and weapons.

As for paragraph 18 of the report, on identifying international arms merchants, we believe that our efforts would be better served if we identified manufacturing and exporting businesses and their means of export, in order to lay the foundations for an international regime to control the manufacture and export of such weapons and the trade in them.

Last year, when the Secretary-General submitted his first report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa, he mentioned many of the causes of these conflicts. These included the legacy of colonialism, economic reasons and other external factors that led to these conflicts and their continuation. He also highlighted the relationship between peace and development.

In this context I would like to refer to paragraph 102 in the follow-up report issued by the Secretary-General on 25 September, which refers to the conflict in southern Sudan. Let me note that everyone knows that there is an ongoing conflict in the south of my country. This is one of the crises bequeathed to us by colonization. Its flames were fanned by the warlords and the rebels, and this conflict has now gone on for more than 50 years.

Since it came to power, the present Government has made serious, tireless efforts to achieve peace in the south. It has welcomed all good offices and initiatives in this respect. It has also accepted the Declaration of Principles as a basis for negotiations between it and the rebels within the context of Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). It recently proclaimed a comprehensive ceasefire in preparation for peace and reaffirmed its commitment to provide basic human rights for all its citizens in the war-torn areas.

Today, from this rostrum I declare — and I will repeat this declaration in my statement before the General Assembly this evening — that the Government of the Sudan is willing to declare a permanent ceasefire for the whole of the south of the Sudan. If the rebels accept this, we will then ask the relevant organizations to separate the warring forces, to supervise the ceasefire for humanitarian reasons and to allow the initiative of IGADD to succeed in achieving a peaceful solution to the problem.

The rebel movement has rejected a ceasefire, is obstructing the routes for humanitarian assistance, and is killing relief workers. The killing of four staff members of the International Committee of the Red Cross last April — an incident condemned by the international

community and the Secretary-General — is still fresh in our minds.

From this rostrum we appeal to the international community and to the Security Council to pressure the rebel movement to join the peace process and to adopt sanctions similar to those that have been adopted against the rebel Savimbi in Angola. The Non-Aligned Movement, at the ministerial meeting that took place during this session of the General Assembly, declared Savimbi a war criminal.

The Secretary-General's current report stresses the importance of socio-economic development in dealing with the causes of conflict. However, we feel that not enough attention has been paid to this aspect. Assistance has not equalled the level required, nor have enough resources been made available for the projects of rehabilitation, development and reconstruction. We would like to reaffirm that if insufficient attention is paid to this aspect, the door for renewed conflicts will remain open.

Experience has proved beyond any doubt the urgent need to pay attention to socio-economic projects during the transitional period in areas where relative stability has been established. There is no need to wait for a comprehensive peace; development would thereby be playing a supportive role in bringing about such peace.

I have taken note with interest the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Canada, which contained a reference to my country. I thank him for his interest in the affairs of the Sudan and would not wish to end my statement without addressing his reference to the slave trade in my country, which was surprising and amazing indeed.

Canada is almost the sole country to make these allegations against the Sudan in the Council. Canada has no resident diplomatic representation in the Sudan and has sent no official delegation to our country in recent years to uncover the facts. I would also mention that my country hosts over 50 foreign diplomatic missions, including 20 Arab and 10 European embassies, a resident envoy of the European Union and a similar number of African and Asian embassies.

The Ministerial Council of the Arab League met this month in Cairo and looked into the misleading malicious media campaigns launched by certain suspect organizations, such as Christian Solidarity International (CSI), against my country, as well as the falsehoods and allegations that have been made concerning the slave trade in the Sudan. CSI is an organization that seeks to foment sectarian strife among the Sudanese — Christians and Muslims alike — and to incite hatred. The Council unanimously decided that the misleading campaign is aimed at destroying the Sudan's image, destabilizing the country and arousing sectarian strife. It called for opposition to this campaign. A copy of the resolution has been sent to the President of the Security Council. As members know, the Economic and Social Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations has adopted a resolution recommending the withdrawal of the consultative status of CSI, in view of that organization's excesses and violations of the rules governing its relationship with the United Nations.

A draft resolution submitted by the members of the European Union to the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva last March on the situation of human rights in the Sudan, which included a tribute to the progress made by my country in that respect, made no mention of allegations concerning the slave trade. It referred to kidnappings that occur during tribal conflicts over water, pasture and agricultural land, which occasionally erupt in some remote regions of the Sudan regardless of the ethnic similarities or differences of the tribes concerned. This is a phenomenon that we are working hard to overcome and eliminate. In that respect, I would call the Council's attention to the convening, in Khartoum last July, of a workshop on the ways and means of stopping and preventing such conflicts. It was attended by representatives of certain United Nations bodies and non-governmental organizations and by civil and governmental leaders. The workshop's recommendations have been implemented by my government and forwarded to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

The Government of the Sudan has treated these allegations very seriously. We believe that slave-trading is a heinous crime against humanity and a horrendous violation of all values and of all revealed religions. Article 20 the 1998 Sudanese Constitution provides that every human being has the right to life, freedom, the security of his own person, dignity and honour in accordance with the law. He is free and cannot be enslaved, forced to work, humiliated or tortured. Article 163 of the 1991 Sudanese Criminal Code provides for the punishment by imprisonment and fine of all who attempt to force others to work.

In the wake of the allegations made in some European capitals, I met with European ambassadors in

Khartoum and asked them to provide us with any information at their disposal on the existence of this practice in my country. They all denied that they had any such information and that this practice exists in the Sudan. When these allegations were repeated, we appealed to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) through its Secretary-General, who is present at this meeting, to dispatch a fact-finding mission to seek information on the subject of these allegations concerning the slave trade.

I cannot help but wonder how dozens of senior officials from the southern part of my country, where these practices are alleged to occur, can all be unaware of their occurrence? These officials include the Vice-President, a southern Christian; four federal ministers, including the only woman on the Council of Ministers, a southern Christian who is Minister of Labour and Humanitarian Affairs; the Deputy Foreign Minister, who is an Anglican Bishop; over 60 members of the federal Parliament; all the governors and ministers of the 10 southern States; hundreds of senior officers of the Army and the police force; academicians; ambassadors and diplomats. The Sudanese ambassadors to Rome, Oslo, Bonn and Dar es-Salaam are all Christians from the southern Sudan, as are dozens of other diplomats. Even the Deputy Chief of Mission to Ottawa is a southern Christian.

The tragic war in southern Sudan is due to the rejection of the repeated ceasefires by the rebel movement. It has displaced over half the population of that region to the North, particularly Khartoum, where all the diplomatic missions and the offices of the United Nations and of non-governmental organizations are located. Anyone who lives in or has visited our country knows that all religious and ethnic groups live in peaceful coexistence there. Christians and Muslims, southerners and northerners are all treated equally. Many senior personalities and officials of regional and international organizations who have visited our country can vouch for that. Foremost among these is the Secretary-General of the OAU, who is among us now and who visited southern Sudan and its capital, Juba. He was witness to the peaceful coexistence of all inhabitants there. I ask the Canadian Minister to give me the name of just one person who was enslaved and the names of those who bought him.

In view of the gravity of the accusations made in the statement of the Foreign Minister of Canada against my country and taking into consideration that Canada is a member of the Security Council and that this matter can seriously harm the Sudan's reputation and destroy the image of the Sudanese people, I ask the Canadian Government to send a fact-finding mission so that it can ascertain the falsity of these allegations and restore respect to my country.

This grave phenomenon, if found in any society, is the worst insult against that society. We cannot deal with this through clamorous media or such unfounded accusations, but through close cooperation that will eliminate it. The Sudan opens its doors to any country or organization that believes that this practice or this phenomenon exists on its territory. It is perfectly willing to cooperate in fighting this phenomenon. Let me reiterate that we welcome a Canadian delegation that would visit the Sudan in this connection. We again ask the Security Council to send a fact-finding mission to investigate the strike against the Al-Shifa pharmaceutical plant, which was launched by the United States. We hope that Canada will set an example by upholding values and principles and that it will support that request.

In conclusion, in view of the gravity of the accusations levelled against the Sudan these days, which are fuelled by some who work against my country, let me repeat that the Sudan does not have any objection to receiving a mission of the United Nations and the European Union, the Organization of African Unity, the Arab League or the Organization of the Islamic Conference to investigate these accusations levelled against the Sudan regarding the slave trade. We are perfectly willing and ready to cooperate with such a mission and to deal positively with the results it might obtain.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Senegal, His Excellency Mr. Jacques Baudin. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement now.

Mr. Baudin (Senegal)(*spoke in French*): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on your well-deserved election. We in Senegal attach particular importance to it as we know both you and, of course, your country.

Peace, security, political stability, the democratic rule of law and respect for fundamental human rights and liberties are all, I believe, necessary conditions for development. Senegal and its head of State, President Abdou Diouf, are committed to these principles on which we base our foreign policy choices and directions.

My delegation welcomes the high quality of the report of the Secretary-General (S/1999/1008) and we are delighted at the remarkable follow-up work by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the other organs and institutions of the United Nations on the recommendations contained in his earlier report (S/1998/318). We welcome also the important statement made within this forum by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, on the situation in Africa.

It is of utmost priority that we should continue our consideration of the potential sources of conflict in Africa because the situation on the continent is evolving very rapidly. In addition to the conventional types of conflict which still persist, there are conflicts of a new type; they are a new generation of more complex conflicts, with new protagonists, stemming from domestic contradictions. Examples of this latter type are: fratricidal, political struggles between the opposition and those in power, with the militias in between, in defiance of the democratic rules of the game and the legally established constitutional order; mutinies by factions of national armed forces which start out as simple material or financial claims and mutate into political demands; the ethnicization of political and social life; the heightening of identity-related conflicts; and the problems stemming from the difficulties involved in managing armed ethnic bands, especially in refugee camps.

I must mention also the dangerous attempts by some countries to revise their border policies and their relations with neighbours. Revising borders calls into question the principle that the borders inherited from the colonial period must not be touched.

These conflicts are made even more difficult by the huge rise in banditry, illicit trafficking in narcotics and psychotropic substances and the uncontrolled circulation of arms, especially small arms and light weapons, in a continent characterized by porous borders.

Obviously the list cannot be exhaustive because there are so many explanations of the sources of tension and conflicts are multiple, complex and interacting. My delegation is pleased that the Secretary-General has taken the specificity of the African situation in his analysis and recommendations into account. It is pleased also that the Security Council has decided: to strengthen its support for regional and subregional initiatives for the prevention, management and settlement of crises in Africa; create a support mechanism for the governments of host countries to enable them to maintain and preserve the security and neutrality of refugee camps; and to strengthen African peacekeeping capabilities.

The provisions of Security Council resolution 1197 (1998), concerning the establishment within OAU of an early warning system based on the model currently being used by the United Nations and the strengthening of the OAU conflict management centre, must be implemented with all the required resources. Similarly, contributions should be made to finance the United Nations Trust Fund for that purpose and the OAU Peace Fund. Mechanisms for the exchange of information between the United Nations and OAU and between the United Nations and subregional organizations — the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), for example — should be considerably improved.

Even though the primary responsibility of maintaining security and the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and areas always lies with the host State, the international community is duty bound to assist governments in this task and, above all, to bear the bulk of the costs to African States whose financial and logistic capacities are limited. To this end, my country wishes to appeal to our development partners for a considerable increase in the resources available to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), given the immensity and complexity of the UNHCR's tasks and responsibilities. My country, which actively participated in the adoption of the ECOWAS Moratorium on the Import, Export and Manufacturing of Small Arms, remains prepared to participate in the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms and to contribute to the establishment of appropriate regional and subregional registries. In the same spirit, we will be contributing to the success of the OAU regional conference on small arms decided upon by the Algiers summit.

Equal importance should be attached to post-conflict peace-building. How many crises did we considered resolved, only to see them re-emerge because of a lack of vigorous support for Governments to build peace and reconstruct what had been destroyed. If truth be told, post-conflict management remains one of the weak points of our joint action. It is hard to understand that countries emerging from a conflict should be treated routinely when it comes to assistance, financing or debt management, for example. They ought to enjoy special treatment; this is a fundamental prerequisite to ensure the

success of efforts at reconstruction, reintegration of ex-combatants and national reconciliation.

I also commend the Secretary-General's proposal to create a group composed of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the United Nations to study special support mechanisms for countries in a post-conflict situation, or those countries that are overwhelmed by waves of refugees created by instability in their region. It is of the utmost importance, in this framework, to take into account the situation of child soldiers.

My delegation will have the opportunity to return to the question of the follow-up of recommendations of an economic and social nature in the report of the Secretary-General when it is examined in the General Assembly. Nonetheless, I want to emphasize the serious development constraints facing our countries. Given the drastic decline in official development assistance, the low level of financial flows towards Africa — approximately 3 per cent of global flows — the intolerable debt and debt servicing burden, which erodes the erratic and steadily declining income from exports, and the many obstacles to access of African exports to world markets, it is important that the United Nations and the international community strengthen their support for the continent and that exceptional efforts be made for the African countries involved in the twofold process of economic and political reform.

Before concluding, I wish to restate sincerely my country's gratitude to our partners and friends — France, the United States and the United Kingdom — for their joint initiative in supporting our peacekeeping and conflict management efforts in Africa. Thanks to their cooperation, and the efforts of Japan and other friendly countries in this field, we have succeeded in training thousands of peacekeeping troops and in improving and increasing our logistic resources. Significant progress has been made in this field, thanks to the commitment of African countries and the support of our partners. Joint military manoeuvres have been organized among the armed forces of the countries of our subregion in order to train for possible future crises.

The United States initiative to respond to crises in Africa, and the tripartite initiative of France, the United States and the United Kingdom to strengthen African peacekeeping capacities, known by the acronym RECAMP, have made African countries better equipped to participate in peacekeeping operations and in crisis prevention and management. We are continuing our work in this field, with the support of friendly countries, and in cooperation with the United Nations and the OAU.

As the Council knows, since its independence Senegal has been contributing contingents to United Nations peacekeeping operations in Africa and elsewhere. We are determined to continue our excellent cooperation with the United Nations in this framework in order to ensure peace and security in the world.

The resilience of African aspirations is such that the international community must act quickly and well. While we are of necessity convinced of this need, since everyone knows the facts of the African problems, some must move beyond the simple reflex reaction of posing the problems, without any real will to find the proper solutions.

I had almost finished, but some student memories keep coming to mind. One is particularly persistent; I was thinking about it all night and again this morning. It leads me to remind the Council of a famous sentence by Mirabeau, one of the great orators of the French revolution, who said that in this world a defence can be found for anything — except inconsistency. I hope that as the twentieth century reaches its end we can together reflect on that truth.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Senegal for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Simão (Mozambique): Let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, upon your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month, and pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Namibia, for the diligent manner in which he discharged his duties during the month of August.

I would also like to express my appreciation, Sir, for your initiative in convening this debate on the situation in Africa. As we approach the new millennium, we think it is high time to reflect on the developments and challenges confronting our continent. I thank all

countries which have expressed kind and encouraging words to my country.

Africa is well known as the cradle of ancient civilizations that contributed to the scientific advance of the world. It is also endowed with huge human and natural resources. These positive aspects have been gradually undermined by a combination of factors which have had a negative impact on the continent's development. The colonial legacy, poverty, the deterioration of the terms of trade and the debt burden are among the main obstacles to the attainment of peace and economic and political stability in Africa.

However, we are proud to note that African States, including the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries, are introducing political, social and economic reforms, such as the adoption of multi-party political systems and free market economies. This in our view signals the Africans' commitment to seek solutions to their own problems, aiming at achieving sustainable development and stability as well as the well-being of the peoples of the continent.

While recognizing that the fate of our continent lies in our hands, we strongly believe that the international community must provide the necessary support to ensure the continuity of the progress so far achieved. Africa is still marginalized. Therefore, the international community must take practical steps to complement the efforts of Africa towards regional integration, thus allowing the continent to be fully integrated into the world economy. In this regard, developed countries must reverse the decline in official development assistance for Africa, provide debt relief or cancellation and mitigate the impact of the deterioration in terms of trade while allowing access of African goods to world markets. The 1999 United Nations Development Programme Human Development Report contains staggering statistics on African countries.

Regrettably, conflicts in Africa continue to be a source of concern for all of us on the continent as well as for all peace- loving countries. We are all involved in the search for solutions for those conflicts which are undermining the development of the African countries. We are conscious that in Southern Africa our concern remains Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Without peace there is neither stability nor development.

With regard to the situation in Angola we deeply regret the resumption of war, caused by UNITA, which is denying Angola the well deserved peace and stability which are so long overdue. Hence, the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against UNITA as a way to force Mr. Savimbi to comply with resolutions 864 (1993), 1127 (1997) and 1173 (1998) must be both reinforced and implemented. It is also urgently necessary to ensure that humanitarian assistance is provided to mitigate the plight of the people of Angola and avoid a human catastrophe.

We commend the work done by the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), chaired by Ambassador Robert Fowler of Canada, which recommended effective measures for the implementation of Security Council sanctions imposed against UNITA. We encourage the Committee to continue with its work.

The maintenance of peace and security is the main responsibility of the Security Council. However, regional arrangements must also contribute to ensuring the attainment of that objective. After all, in the particular case of SADC, instability in Angola and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo also affects that whole region. Taking this into account, the SADC countries are ready to collaborate with the United Nations to monitor the implementation of sanctions against UNITA. We think that this will complement the efforts of the Security Council, and indeed of the whole international community, to achieve lasting peace in Angola.

The situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has seen some positive progress, with the signature of the Lusaka Agreement by all parties involved in the conflict. However, the slow pace of implementation of this Agreement constitutes a major concern for the whole region. In this regard, we call upon the Security Council to adopt practical measures to ensure an effective ceasefire. To that end, the early and timely deployment of peacekeeping forces, with an appropriate mandate under Chapter VII of the Charter, and with enough manpower and resources, is imperative for the achievement of lasting peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. All SADC countries, and indeed many African and other nations, are ready to contribute troops for this peacekeeping mission.

It is our hope that, unlike previous occasions elsewhere, solving the security issue will not be a precondition for the deployment of peacekeeping forces. We are concerned that a step-by-step approach by the Security Council may jeopardize the smooth implementation of the Lusaka Agreement.

It is regrettable that whenever the international community is faced with taking action to solve a conflict in Africa the issue of cost is always raised. Cost should not be a determining factor because it has never been a determining factor in dealing with conflicts in other parts of the world.

In the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, what SADC is proposing is a strong and structured partnership with the United Nations in order to guarantee the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement.

Africa has the potential to solve its own problems as has been demonstrated on many occasions. Our continental organization, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), has been involved in the search for solutions for the many conflicts devastating the continent. Through its Central Organ of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, Africa can indeed play a pivotal role in the maintenance of peace and security. Similar regional mechanisms, such as our SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and other regional mechanisms, are also capable of playing a meaningful role.

What we need is to endow these arrangements with adequate financial and technical resources so that they also can launch and participate in peacekeeping missions in Africa. We call on the United Nations to collaborate closely with Africa to enhance Africa's capacity to shoulder its own responsibility to help maintain peace and security within Africa. We call also on the international community to provide the necessary resources in amounts sufficient to allow these objectives to be realized.

The success of the Security Council, and of the United Nations as a whole, will be judged by the degree of success it achieves in the least developed of all our planet's continents. Together we shall succeed.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Republic of Mozambique for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker on my list is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Ghana, His Excellency The Honourable James Victor Gbeho.

I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement now.

Mr. Gbeho (Ghana): I am happy and privileged to participate in this crucial Security Council debate on the situation in Africa, and I wish to begin by joining in the warm sentiments expressed to you, Sir, and to other members of the Council by previous speakers.

I must also highly commend the Secretary-General for the comprehensive progress report (S/1999/1008) on the implementation of the recommendations contained in his earlier report (S/1998/318). The progress report highlights key issues that need to be addressed in dealing with the problems confronting Africa.

The case for proving Africa's readiness to pull itself up by its bootstraps when it comes to challenges to peace and security there has been well established by all who spoke before me. The statement made in the Council yesterday by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) regarding the two OAU summit meetings held in Algiers and Sirte, and the statement by the Permanent Representative of Algeria, also portray Africa's resolve to take its destiny into its own hands and make the next millennium one of peace and stability on the continent.

As was noted by an earlier speaker, there can be no peace without development, nor can there be development without peace. My contribution, therefore, is calculated to underscore some of the points already made and to suggest how the Security Council may help Africa. In so doing I will go straight to the point and try to avoid repeating the many important points that my colleagues have already made with greater force than I can muster.

The Charter gives ultimate responsibility for international peace and security to this body, and yet the continent of Africa is desperately in the throes of conflict. By holding this debate, the Security Council itself acknowledges the critical role that it has to play in improving the environment for development in that region of the world. The Security Council therefore has to assume its full responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in Africa. Regional peacekeeping missions and other efforts by Africa can therefore be no excuse for the Security Council to shirk its responsibilities to African countries.

We have had to bear such a responsibility in West Africa, for instance, not only because we feel a sense of ownership for confronting and managing conflict, but also because the response by the international community has recently been either muted or lukewarm, and in a few

instances too little, too late. It is the conviction of my Government that the Council's duty to maintain peace without any prevarication or ambivalence must be upheld and emphasized.

In this regard, I wish to reiterate the point I made to the General Assembly last week: that the time has come for the international community to do in Africa as much as it has done in other areas in guaranteeing peace. We have seen in the past few months the kind of resources that the international community has been willing and able to mobilize in Kosovo and East Timor at short notice. We are pleased with the effort and would like to congratulate the countries involved. Africa urges the Security Council, therefore, to move with similar dispatch concerning the tragedies of Africa in order to dispel any perceptions of discrimination or lack of even-handedness.

If the words of comfort, support and solidarity that have been offered Africa in this debate were half-translated into commitments we would spend less time lamenting the plight of the continent. In our view, Africa's case has often required less onerous assistance in terms of human lives and military dispositions than is necessary in post-conflict management. In fact, as the Secretary-General's report makes clear, the root of many conflicts in Africa lies in the difficult socio-economic situation that the continent finds itself in. There will thus be no peace or security until the issue of poverty is seriously addressed.

We are compelled to point out that the achievement of the objectives of peace and security requires an integrated approach, even in areas outside the narrow confines of peace and security. While we appreciate the assistance by developed countries for enhancing Africa's peacekeeping efforts, this, in our view, should be coordinated to avoid a situation in which parallel bodies compete for attention, and thereby waste energy.

The international community must also support efforts at stemming the illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons in West Africa. My Government, in recognition of the need to address the serious problem of arms proliferation in our subregion and the related issue of the forced participation of children in armed conflicts, intends soon to jointly host with the Government of Canada a subregional workshop aimed at building on the Mali moratorium and establishing a framework to keep children out of conflict. We look forward to the support of the international community for this forthcoming event, especially that of the member States of the Council. In this regard, we also call on countries whose companies and nationals support the supply of arms and the provision of soldiers of fortune or mercenaries to fight in wars for the sake of diamonds or similar resources to assist these noble regional efforts aimed at halting this trend.

Africa recognizes its responsibility to take steps to create a viable environment for sustainable development. Good governance, accountability and measures towards poverty alleviation are part of this process, and the Secretary-General's report acknowledges the efforts of African countries in this direction. We count on the support, therefore, and the cooperation of the developed countries for success.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me first of all, Mr. President, to extend my thanks to you and to your delegation for your efforts in presiding over the Council this month, which has seen so much activity.

We have twice seen the Council hold public meetings this month and we hope that it will not go back to holding meetings behind closed doors as if it were hatching something unacceptable to the international community. The Council works on behalf of the international community, at least in theory.

We would also like to pay tribute to the representative of Namibia, Ambassador Andjaba, for his successful presidency over the Council last month.

We also thank the Secretary-General, who single-handedly performed his duties on behalf of Africa in the best possible way and within his competence and terms of reference.

We have heard many things from those who have taken the floor at this meeting. We will therefore be very brief and not repeat what has already been said. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will not go into the details of what it has done for the continent of which it is a part. My country feels that what it has done in Africa -- whether during the struggles for liberation from occupation, in the area of reconstruction and

development, in stopping bloodshed in all areas of conflict or in preparing Africa to enter the next century unified and on the road to recovery — has been nothing more than its duty. These actions are for us daily acts and are an integral part of our shared responsibility.

At these sorts of meetings, some see an opportunity to continue, to a boring degree, to remind Africa of what they have offered to and spent on the continent. We Africans are not very happy about being constantly reminded that we owe those countries a debt of gratitude, and we are not very happy that those countries have no objective other than winning African votes. We would be happier if an end could be put to recalling this debt of gratitude, which so provokes our feelings and our dignity — in particular as we have not forgotten the fact that what has been taken from us is almost impossible to compensate for.

It is unnerving for Africa that the United Nations and the rich and powerful States do not give it anything other than words. We see them take boisterous action when other regions are concerned while they spend without limit. Even worse, African countries are forced to pay for this spending lest they be deprived of the right to vote. There are many well-known examples, and the Secretary-General mentioned some of them at yesterday's meeting.

The Secretary-General has done his duty according to his terms of reference. He has sent emissaries and representatives and has established ad hoc groups. He has submitted reports and made suggestions and even demands. But he does not have competence to issue resolutions.

The United Nations withdrew from Somalia and let it drown in its conflicts and fade into oblivion. The Somali people are being killed and displaced and their territory is being divided. Angola also is abandoned, except for the provision of weapons and ammunition to the intransigent warring parties. Where is the United Nations when it comes to the Great Lakes, the Horn of Africa and West Africa, except, of course, for the representatives of the United Nations and their reports? The Council has never adopted any resolutions that had any practical effect on them.

Africa's wounds cannot be healed by good intentions, statements, public debates or even closed sessions. Africa looks to the United Nations to take concrete action on the urgent and persistent issues. Let me briefly address these.

First, with respect to conflicts, it should endorse the studies or decisions that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has arrived at through the efforts or mediation by African countries. This should be done in accordance with the formula adopted by the OAU without any fundamental or substantive changes, as has happened in regional conflicts where the Council adopted draft resolutions submitted to it by the geographical groups where these conflicts took place. The United Nations should also finance what is needed for the implementation of these resolutions.

Second, with respect to health, an urgent international programme should be set up under the auspices of the United Nations and the OAU, supervised by the World Health Organization, to deal with AIDS treatment, prevention and awareness. This disease threatens the entire continent and must be swiftly dealt with through an international plan of action. It should also adopt a similar international programme against malaria and other endemic diseases. In addition to the United Nations, all countries and international organizations, governmental and non-governmental, foundations, companies and individuals should provide contributions, financial and in kind, to this humanitarian work.

Third, turning to democracy, I would like to note that the meaning of that word, according to its Greek origin, is government by the people. Peoples have the right to govern themselves. Indeed, it is their duty. This means that no one has the right to impose on Africa their own formula for democracy. To achieve democracy, we must take into consideration many objective considerations: political, economic, social, educational and cultural. Some of these considerations are historical and others are still relevant today. There is absolutely no question about the importance and necessity of democracy, but where disagreements arise is when we try to impose a particular model on societies, no matter how alien such a model is to them from the perspective of history or practicality.

To ignore the level and degree of cultural and historical development of societies is to ignore reality and the objective considerations that have formed the particularities of these societies. To try to make reality fit a prefabricated formula is akin to forcing someone into a suit made for someone else. If we were to recall what happened in most industrial societies or so-called democracies only a few decades ago, we would realize that those generations that survived two of the largest

wars in this century had not known or even expected the freedoms and rights that exist now.

Only recently generals ruled Portugal, Spain, Greece and other countries in the European Continent. The attempts to impose multiparty systems or parliamentary democracies were among the reasons for the many conflicts that have taken place in African countries. In Africa, belonging to a tribe or a religious sect is much stronger than belonging to a political party or having any intellectual or political affiliation. Political parties in Africa are made up of tribes, religious sects or geographic groups — in Somalia, Rwanda and other countries where there are internal or regional conflicts.

Therefore, if the United Nations wishes to help Africa with respect to democracy, it can do the following: first, refrain from imposing a particular model of democracy and respect the choice of peoples, their history, their particularities and their level of development; second, affirm that any formula to be followed must guarantee freedom, the rule of law, rights and rotation by free popular choice at the local and central level; and, third, invite all Member States to respect these fundamentals and deal with African and other countries economically and politically without the imposition of any formulas or conditions. In addition, international financial institutions and others must not impose any conditions that would prejudice the choice of peoples in governing themselves.

Fourth, with respect to development, the following steps should be taken. First, Africa's debts should be cancelled. Second, an international technical training programme should be set up. Third, the United Nations Development Programme must prepare studies on agricultural projects that would maximize food and agricultural production. Africa would contribute to these projects through its natural and human resources, and international investment firms would provide financing and technical know-how. Fourth, the United Nations Development Programme must prepare studies on industrial projects for manufacturing basic commodities — agricultural and mineral — where Africa again would contribute raw materials and human resources, and the international investment firms would provide financing and technical know-how in a fair manner applied to all. Fifth, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) must finance infrastructure projects in Africa, such as railroads and highways, and also develop port systems and electrical grids. Sixth, support should be given to the present economic groupings and the economic institutions that the special African summit in Sirte has decided to establish.

Seventh, abandonment of the market economy system. Most of the countries on the continent do not have an economy or a market that conforms to current economic concepts. We must also abandon the clichéd policies of the IMF, which were created and distributed to all countries without taking into account differences. Eighth, the Security Council must not be subjected to pressure from some countries to adopt resolutions imposing sanctions, and it must end such sanctions, as in the case of my country, which has been unjustly treated.

Africa needs concrete actions to be taken to help it heal its wounds and achieve economic, political and social progress. We hope that this discussion will lead to that outcome without any delay.

The President: I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the kind words he addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of South Africa. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kumalo (South Africa): Thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to appear before this body.

I want to associate my delegation with the statement made by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Reading that statement alongside the statement made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations helps us to become more enlightened about the situation in Africa as it is today.

Last week, at the opening of the General Assembly general debate of the fifty-fourth session, the Secretary-General gave an important address in which he sharply raised the issue of humanitarian intervention in conflict areas. One of the many challenges he posed to the United Nations was contained in the following statement:

> "As we seek ways to combat the ancient enemies of war and poverty, we will succeed only if we all adapt our Organization to a world with new actors, new responsibilities and new possibilities for peace and progress." (*A/54/PV.4*)

That entire address by the Secretary-General deserves serious discussion in a different forum. It raised issues that are fundamental to the work of our Organization and even relevant to this open meeting on conflicts in Africa.

Today we are here to take stock of developments that have taken place since the Secretary-General issued his report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. This report distinguishes itself because of its holistic approach to the sources of conflict in Africa and the valuable guidelines it provides on conflict prevention, management and resolution.

We believe that those guidelines can make profound contributions to the efforts of African countries to assert their sovereignty, rediscover their meaningful role as independent nation States, define their role within the international community and, indeed, rid the continent of the scourge of conflict. My delegation would again like to associate itself with the statement delivered on behalf of the OAU and also with other statements that have been made.

African countries such as ours, which have fought for liberation and against colonial rule with the help and support of the United Nations, believe that it is important for multilateral institutions to provide a forum at which the international community can continue to debate positive ways of articulating and advancing the interests of developing countries in crisis. We note that this debate is taking place on the threshold of a new millennium, and we urge that it spell out concrete steps to be taken to enhance peace, security and development in Africa.

While noting with appreciation that the Security Council remains seized of matters of peace and security in Africa, we believe that similar debates in the General Assembly would add to the collective wisdom needed to address these issues. We further commend the Security Council for its consideration of the Secretary-General's report, which culminated in its adoption of resolution 1197 (1998), specifying areas of cooperation with the Organization of African Unity that need strengthening so that the OAU is better equipped to play a supportive role with regard to United Nations activities aimed at achieving peace and stability in the continent.

We are equally appreciative of the fact that the Secretary-General's report resulted in the adoption of General Assembly resolution 53/92 in December 1998. Most important, we strongly support the idea of establishing a follow-up mechanism to implement recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General. This is a bold, meaningful, and action-oriented step that goes beyond mere declarations. It sends a long-overdue, positive message that the United Nations is indeed ready to act on this crucial matter.

Much as we welcome the momentum these resolutions introduced to the debate on peace, stability and development in Africa, it is disheartening to note that little has been done to keep that momentum and to establish an open-ended ad hoc working group of the General Assembly to monitor the implementation of resolution 53/92, or, in particular, to implement the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General. It is incumbent on the United Nations and Member States to rededicate their efforts to the implementation of the provisions of resolution 53/92. Our inaction in this regard, largely due to the lack of political will, is a manifestation of a fundamental problem that continues to impede the United Nations in taking resolute and immediate action. We should not allow this lack of political will to continue to hinder the United Nations from playing its rightful role in the pursuit of international peace and security and thus preventing it from getting closer to the people it should serve.

Whereas the United Nations continues to be the foremost Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security, we African countries would like to declare that we are ready to address issues of conflict in the continent — in fact, we are already doing so. But for us to consolidate our modest successes and increase the authority of the decisions we have taken so far, we will need support from the international community, especially the Security Council.

It is for this reason that most of the leaders who addressed the General Assembly in the general debate last week, including President Mbeki, underscored the importance of creating a more democratic system of international governance, as would be reflected by a restructuring of the multilateral institutions, including the United Nations and the Security Council.

South Africa believes that there exists an intrinsic link between peace and development which requires an integrated approach to conflict prevention, resolution and management. In this regard, we commend all global advocacy for African development and efforts to mobilize the international community further in support of our continent and, in particular, to bring the United Nations system, including the Bretton Woods institutions, to

support African development within a coordinated framework. Continued support by the international community for this endeavour is of the utmost importance to the efforts of African countries to create an enabling environment for sustainable development as well as for the restructuring of their economies in order to improve their economic situation. The Secretary-General reached the same conclusion when he wrote in paragraph 5 of his report (S/1998/318) on the causes of conflict in Africa:

> "By not averting these colossal human tragedies, African leaders have failed the peoples of Africa; the international community has failed them; the United Nations has failed them. We have failed them ... by not doing enough to ensure peace; and by our repeated inability to create the conditions for sustainable development. This is the reality of Africa's recent past. It is a reality that must be confronted honestly and constructively by all concerned if the people of Africa are to enjoy the human security and economic opportunities they seek and deserve."

Another frustration experienced by developing countries is the lack of timely and decisive United Nations response to conflict situations in Africa; this has resulted in sharp criticism being levelled at the Organization. Swift United Nations involvement in places such as Kosovo and elsewhere is cited as a typical example epitomizing the lack of enthusiasm for the United Nations responding with similar zeal to African conflicts such as the tragic situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is urgent for the Security Council to move swiftly in deploying the necessary peacekeeping force in the Democratic Republic of the Congo so as to allow the peace process to take hold. In Africa — and elsewhere for that matter — the dangerous notion is beginning to develop that the United Nations is increasingly abrogating its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and ceding it to regional arrangements. Needless to say, it is of utmost importance that the United Nations should improve its record with regard to response to conflict situations. The United Nations has an obligation to be seen by the peoples of the world as a truly even-handed interlocutor and peacemaker.

The trend for the international community to wait for conflicts to develop into violence and even war, and subsequently to intervene through costly peacekeeping operations, no longer reflects a worthy method of intervention. The demand for the United Nations to become involved in preventing the outbreak of hostilities in countries that are caught in conflict, or to clean up after wars, imposes a difficult and expensive mandate on this Organization. At this rate, peacekeeping missions are becoming instruments for freezing conflict, perpetuating polarization and making timely conflict-resolution more difficult. The men and women of violence simply have to wait long enough for United Nations peacekeeping missions to depart from areas of conflict before resuming shooting at each other.

My delegation has already said that we look forward to a debate that will result in concrete steps to inform our activities to enhance peace, stability and development in Africa. Eighteen months after the issuance of the Secretary-General's report, it cannot escape us that it has become something more concrete. We are pleased that the report has not been forgotten. We realize that the task of putting more life into the report cannot be accomplished by this meeting. However, we hope that by discussing it here we are taking a modest step towards meeting the need for a different format to evaluate and review United Nations measures that can be undertaken to resolve conflicts.

The meeting was suspended at 1.05 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4049 (Resumption 3)

Security Council
Fifty-fourth Year

Provisional

4049th Meeting
Thursday, 30 September 1999, 2 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. van Walsum	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Mársico
	Bahrain	Mr. Buallay
	Brazil	Mr. Cordeiro
	Canada	Mr. Fowler
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	France	Mr. Teixeira da Silva
	Gabon	Mr. Moungara-Moussotsi
	Gambia	Mr. Faal
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Slovenia	Mr. Türk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Richmond
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

The situation in Africa

Progress report on the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa (S/1999/1008)

99-85986 (E)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was resumed at 2.15 p.m.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Finland. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Ms. Rasi (Finland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia — and the associated countries, Cyprus and Malta, as well the European Free Trade Association country member of the European Economic Area, Iceland, align themselves with this statement.

The European Union welcomes the Secretary-General's progress report (S/1999/1008) on the implementation of the recommendations contained in his report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa.

The Council's debate today on Africa takes place at a very critical moment. The European Union welcomes this initiative and the opportunity to focus on Africa. On the one hand, we are able to observe some signs of political and socio-economic progress; on the other hand, more than a third of African countries are at present or have recently been involved in armed conflicts. The European Union is deeply concerned by the extension of armed conflicts, the huge influx of arms and military equipment and the increasing role of non-State actors in armed conflicts. As a consequence, parts of Africa are suffering the massive displacement of civilian populations and humanitarian crises. The prospects of development and prosperity in the countries directly or indirectly affected by these conflicts have been shattered by current developments.

Peace, security, sustainable development, human rights and good governance are interdependent. Crises are triggered by a range of factors, including social, ethnic or religious strife, the violation of human rights, poverty, the inequitable distribution of and the fight for economic resources and commodities, environmental degradation and large-scale migration. The European Union is of the view that the combination of these factors in Africa poses a serious challenge to the international community.

The primary responsibility for the future of Africa rests with the African nations themselves. The use of force is not conducive to lasting peace and security. Power without responsibility, rule without accountability and force without control are not acceptable. It is indispensable to set in motion a process to achieve democracy, power-sharing and respect for human rights, whether this process takes the form of promoting broad-based governments and maintaining the rule of law and effective civil service, or of securing the legitimacy of elections and the orderly change of governments. African nations need to have prospects for and a vision of their future in a global context. Broad dialogues on continental and subregional security, relying on existing regional cooperative arrangements, should be encouraged.

The international community, including the European Union, cannot be indifferent to events in Africa. The European Union is strongly committed to the primary role of the United Nations in the maintenance and promotion of international peace. The European Union welcomes the renewed commitment of the Security Council to contribute to conflict resolution in Africa. It notes the Council's determination to improve further its ability to prevent conflicts and to make its responses to conflicts more efficient and effective. The European Union looks forward to further Security Council activity in this regard. We commend the work of the Secretary-General and United Nations bodies in their efforts to bring about solutions to crises in Africa.

At the same time, we need to strengthen the United Nations capacity for conflict prevention and to address the root causes of conflict. Potential sources of conflict need to be addressed at an early stage. The changing nature of conflicts requires new immediate responses. We could quote numerous examples to illustrate the fact that international humanitarian law and human rights continue to be violated with impunity in many parts of Africa, as a result of either a combination of brutality and ignorance or of systematic and organized action.

The European Union considers the safe and unimpeded access of international humanitarian organizations to refugees, displaced persons and vulnerable populations in conflict situations to be a fundamental principle. We strongly condemn the arbitrary denial of these rights. The overwhelming majority of casualties in today's conflicts in Africa are civilian, the majority of them women and children. In this context, the European Union calls upon all States and parties to conflicts in Africa to stop the recruitment and the use of child soldiers. It is essential to bring to justice those responsible for violations and to end the culture of impunity. In this context, we underline the importance of the effective operation of the international criminal

tribunals, especially the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, and the need for other appropriate mechanisms to deal effectively with questions of impunity and accountability. The European Union underlines the importance of the early establishment of the International Criminal Court and calls upon all States that have not done so to sign and ratify the Rome Statute without delay.

We commend efforts of African leaders and States and regional and subregional organizations, in particular the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to resolve conflicts by peaceful means. Under its Common Position on conflict prevention and resolution in Africa, the European Union is ready to assist in building capacities for conflict prevention in Africa, particularly through the OAU and African subregional organizations. We also recognize the importance of regional peacekeeping efforts in Africa and express our support for measures to develop African capacity in this regard.

In its 50-year history of peacekeeping, the United Nations has deployed more operations in Africa than in any other single region. These operations remain a vital instrument in assisting African States to resolve conflicts with the help of the international community and to create the conditions for peaceful development. United Nations-mandated peacekeeping operations can make the difference between peace and war and lay the foundation for further peace-building. The European Union is convinced that progress, lasting peace and sustainable development will be reached in Africa only if Africa, as well as the international community, can muster firm political determination and commitment.

For the European Union, Africa's sustainable development is a priority. The commitment of the European Union to Africa is based on shared interests, values and objectives. We wish to help Africa to achieve peace and stability in order to improve the quality of life of its people. An enabling political environment conducive to human rights, good governance and a vibrant civil society are essential for sustainable development. In this respect, development cooperation has to play an important role.

The European Union is the world's leading source of development assistance to Africa, providing more than two thirds of total official development assistance flows to sub-Saharan Africa. Development assistance plays a key role in supporting the policies pursued by the African countries. This is particularly the case in the least developed countries, three quarters of which are in Africa. Donors and African countries share responsibility for ensuring that development assistance is used effectively. The European Union is currently negotiating the renewal of the Lomé Convention, our present partnership with the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. The challenge is to put European Union political, trade and economic cooperation on a new footing to cope with the scale of poverty, social and political instability and the effects of globalization. For the European Union, an active development policy with the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries is an important component of the Union's global responsibility. We are actively committed to improving the operational coordination of development cooperation amongst ourselves, with partner Governments and other international development actors, such as the United Nations family.

External debt continues to be a serious impediment to sustainable development in many African countries. Unless the external debt is reduced to sustainable levels, especially for the poorest countries, the benefits of reform risk being swallowed up by increased debt servicing. The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt (HIPC) Initiative provides a major opportunity for achieving debt sustainability and should be speedily extended to more countries within the terms agreed upon. We welcome the progress recently achieved at the Cologne economic Summit, including the recognition that the central purpose of debt relief is poverty reduction. The 1999 Cologne debt initiative is designed to provide deeper, broader and faster relief through major changes to the HIPC framework.

We welcome the favourable response of the OAU to the European Union's proposal for the holding in April 2000 of a summit of the heads of State and Government of the European Union and of Africa. We look forward to starting the preparation for the summit, which should adopt a balanced approach between political and economic issues, reflecting the global nature of European Union-Africa partnership in order to ensure concrete results.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade of Jamaica, His Excellency The Honourable Seymour Mullings, MP. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mullings (Jamaica): My delegation joins with others in expressing our appreciation to you, Sir, and the members of the Council for holding this open debate on

Africa. For Jamaica, the continent of Africa holds a special significance, given our close historical and cultural ties. Indeed, over 80 per cent of the Jamaican population is of African descent. Jamaica has been in solidarity with the cause of Africa in its struggle for freedom and now in its search for a lasting peace.

The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization has emphasized that the general security situation in Africa continues to cause the gravest concern and we are all well aware that African issues dominate the work of the Security Council. The questions which are now being raised relate to the effectiveness of the Council's efforts in dealing with the pressing concerns and how creative the approaches have been in dealing with the different arenas of conflict.

Africa needs more than just words of sympathy and concern from the international community, particularly the Security Council. We clearly need a programme to be implemented on a sustained basis to help end the cycle of conflict. We have to begin by tackling the fundamental causes in order to achieve long-term results.

The Secretary-General's report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace in Africa (S/1998/318) and its follow-up progress report (S/1999/1008) give sound analysis of the causes of conflict in Africa and make practical recommendations on how to address the problems which persist. We appreciate the Secretary-General's efforts over the past year to act on the recommendations contained in the report (S/1998/318), which include support for regional and subregional initiatives in the area of conflict prevention; establishment of an international mechanism to assist host governments in maintaining the security and neutrality of refugee camps; and strengthening the effectiveness of arms sanctions regimes imposed by the Security Council.

We remain concerned, however, that more concrete action needs to be taken by the Security Council in relation to conflict situations in Africa. The Council should be aware that there is a growing perception of foot-dragging in the way it authorizes peacekeeping forces for conflict areas in Africa — more attention is given and resources are diverted to other parts of the world.

The report also highlights efforts made by the United Nations in supporting African peacekeeping. While one welcomes the convening of seminars and the conduct of training courses, we believe that further provision could be made to provide logistic and financial support for enhancing African peacekeeping capacity. We call upon the international community not to turn a blind eye to Africa's present crisis, but to rally to its assistance.

Jamaica remains fully committed to the belief that collective action is the best approach to addressing the complex situation which now obtains and wishes to place on record its appreciation of the efforts of regional organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which have made significant contributions to the restoration of peace and democracy in Africa.

We note with appreciation also the efforts of the Organization of African Unity in the situation in the Great Lakes region and hope that the Lusaka Agreement will form the basis for reconciliation and peace. Nevertheless, the Security Council should not abdicate its role in the maintenance of international peace and security but should continue to work in close cooperation with regional organizations, in a coordinated manner, to promote mediation and negotiations between contending parties.

The proliferation of small arms in Africa is a troubling issue. As was reflected by most speakers during last week's Security Council debate on small arms, there is an urgent need to halt the illicit manufacture, transfer, trade and use of small arms.

The economic and social development of Africa remains an area of priority. We note that despite Africa's rich endowments, economic growth has continued to elude most countries. This has manifested itself in soaring levels of unemployment, in debt and in deteriorating standards of living.

Jamaica welcomes the heavily indebted poor countries debt initiative at the G-8 meeting in Cologne this year aimed at alleviating the debt of 11 sub-Saharan African countries. It is our hope that this will be the start of a more concerted move to eliminate Africa's debt. We are pleased to note that the current meetings of the World Bank in Washington are considering this.

Jamaica is fully convinced that there is no place for "Africa fatigue" or "Africa pessimism". We owe it to Africa to ensure that it realizes its full potential. As we enter the twenty-first century, let us redouble our commitment to the rebirth of Africa, where peace,

security and development will be a reality. Africa's survival is the concern of the entire international community and affects us all.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement now.

Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to express to you my warmest thanks and my appreciation for your presiding over this very important meeting and we hope it will contribute to speeding up the Council's examination of African problems, beginning with its responsibility towards the maintenance of international peace and security under the United Nations Charter.

Our meeting coincides with the issuance of the progress report of the Secretary-General (S/1999/1008) on the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa (S/1998/318). What is of interest here is that the Secretary-General presented a progress report which, like his earlier report, contains entire chapters that do not fall within the competence of the Security Council. However, the progress report is addressed only to the Council, whereas the first report was submitted to both the Council and the General Assembly and was also considered by the Economic and Social Council. We wonder why the same approach has not been adopted in this particular case.

In this context, allow me to recall Egypt's ongoing position that we must distinguish between the competence of the Council and the competence of the other organs of the United Nations under the Charter. We recall also the need for the Council to take into account the delicate balances between the decision-making bodies of the Organization under the Charter, and above all the role of the General Assembly, in studying the principles of cooperation in alleviating human suffering, examining the causes of conflict and strengthening durable peace and sustainable development. This is not to mention the competences of other United Nations bodies responsible for these issues. We are pleased that the Council is studying the problems of Africa and the means for finding solutions to them, as these problems violate or threaten international peace and security.

In the last few years, African countries have shown more willingness and determination to confront the challenges facing them at the dawn of the twenty-first century, and their desire to assume their collective responsibility for maintaining peace and security in the continent and for playing the crucial role that they must play in settling disputes in their own territory. This willingness and determination were demonstrated at the thirty-fifth OAU Summit in Algiers in July 1999 and in the resolutions and declarations adopted there.

That OAU and the subregional organizations are fulfilling a more important role in finding solutions to African disputes does not relieve the United Nations and the Security Council of their primary responsibilities: those organizations cannot replace the United Nations or the Security Council in the settlement of disputes. Hence, the importance of a greater and more effective movement by the Council towards translating these responsibilities into practical measures to deal with the growing impression among African heads of State, as reflected in their statements to the General Assembly, that the United Nations seems to attach greater importance to problems that arise in other parts of the world, to the detriment of Africa's conflict issues. We welcome the positive measures adopted by the Council in its follow-up to the Secretary-General's report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa (S/1999/1008), and its implementation of such recommendations as fall within its competence.

We observe, nevertheless, that there is some hesitation, even foot-dragging, by the Council in assuming its responsibilities to take the necessary steps at the proper time to avoid an escalation of these conflicts in Africa, ensure the stability of States, achieve progress and establish peace. These issues deserve greater attention from the Council on strengthening the various frameworks for settlements between parties in contention.

We cannot mention the situation in Africa without expressing our deep concern and dismay at the deteriorating situation in the Horn of Africa. The tragedy that befell Somalia and its people over eight years ago continues with no measure by or direction from the Council to put an end to it. Whereas we stress that the responsibility for finding a peaceful settlement to the Somali crisis lies with the Somalis themselves, we do feel that the Council should act more forcefully to find a solution that would preserve Somalia's territorial integrity, maintain its sovereignty and achieve national reconciliation so that it can take its place once more within the community of nations.

The Council should not be content with pious sentiments in support of the international and regional efforts of the various States and organizations in the region which are involved. In this connection, we hope that the Secretary-General's report on Somalia of 16 August 1999 (S/1999/882), which many parties in Somalia have welcomed, will contribute to motivating the Security Council to fulfil its mandate within the context of the Somali crisis, especially in respect of the embargo on arms deliveries under its resolution 733 (1992).

At the same time, Egypt feels that the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, with its endless loss of life and destruction of property, has lasted too long. We think it is high time to put an end to this conflict, and we hope that the Security Council will carry out its responsibility to help resolve this conflict through the parties' implementing the Agreement which they signed under OAU auspices.

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is one of the most serious challenges that Africa faces on the eve of the twenty-first century. This is a conflict where the armies of six African countries are involved. It has led to the displacement of more than 700,000 people. Despite the many complex dimensions of this conflict, the countries concerned have managed to come to a Ceasefire Agreement to put an end to it. Although we welcome Security Council resolution 1258 (1999) to send up to 90 liaison officers to this region we urge the Council to adopt measures to strengthen the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement by mandating a military observer mission to be followed by the establishment and deployment of a large-scale peacekeeping operation.

With respect to the situation in Sierra Leone, the Security Council should step up its efforts to help achieve peace in this fraternal country.

We hope that the Council will keep in mind the recommendation contained in the final report of the Secretary-General for a broader peace operation in order to implement the Lomé Accord, which would restore the credibility of the Council in resolving problems in that region.

Egypt, like many other African countries, is committed to assuming its responsibilities by contributing to the resolution of conflicts in Africa. We participate by contributing armed forces, military observers or police officers to the United Nations peacekeeping operations in Sierra Leone, Western Sahara and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as in the Central African Republic, where the Egyptian army forms the backbone of the United Nations force in that country.

Egypt also takes part in operations outside Africa — in Kosovo, Bosnia, East Timor and other regions of the world. Our participation stems from the conviction that the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is a collective responsibility, which should not be left to a particular continent or a particular geographic region, such as Africa, which would assume the responsibilities for resolving their own conflicts.

As a result, we hope that the Council will have a similar conviction and will adopt similar measures to resolve conflicts in Africa, in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

In this context, allow me finally to recall what the Secretary-General told us in his report with respect to the causes of conflict in Africa and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in that continent. He said that today the international community must adopt concrete measures, because declarations and pious wishes are not enough to measure up to the actions that the international community must take in Africa in order to resolve its problems.

The President: I thank the representative of Egypt for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Monteiro (Portugal): Portugal associates itself with the statement made by Finland on behalf of the European Union.

Mr. President, my delegation congratulates you on organizing this important meeting. The fact that we have had this debate for three years in a row shows how the United Nations is committed to dealing with persistent concerns of conflict and development in Africa.

The report (S/1998/318) that the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council in April 1998 contains an exhaustive and detailed analysis of the causes of the conflicts that plague the African continent. But of equal or perhaps even greater importance than the diagnosis he offers are the concrete proposals he makes with a view to eliminating or relieving those causes and thereby opening the way towards a process of sustainable development in

Africa. We should now turn from our process of reflection towards developing a programme of decisive action.

Portugal has consistently advocated that the international community would be committing a grave error of judgement if, in the face of the crises and difficulties that persist in Africa, it were to allow itself to fall into indifference. We should heed the wise words of the Secretary-General yesterday, at the beginning of this important debate, when he warned against "Africa fatigue" and "Afro-pessimism".

By helping Africa to solve its problems, we are at the same time helping the international community, since it is in its vital interest that societies be freer and more democratic, that human rights be respected and that economies prosper. A more stable and developed Africa leads to a richer and safer world for all humanity.

That reality requires that we develop with Africa a closer and more dynamic cooperation in a joint task with its peoples and Governments. The international community can and should help Africa, but Africans themselves must also assume fully their destiny and responsibilities in the construction of a better future.

In this regard, we would like to single out the remarkable efforts of Mozambique in achieving a smooth transition from war to peace and for being now on the road to a better future for its people.

National reconciliation is also being pursued in Guinea-Bissau, with the assistance of the United Nations, and we would like wholeheartedly to commend this effort.

In meeting its fundamental responsibility for guaranteeing international peace and security, including in Africa, the Security Council should, whenever possible, act in strict coordination with African regional organizations, as it is doing in Sierra Leone.

Furthermore, it is unrealistic to hope or to demand that the United Nations provide quick and full solutions to the conflicts in Africa if the belligerent parties themselves — and those who directly or indirectly support them — are unwilling to show the necessary political will to abide by the agreements that they have signed. It is useless to pretend that the international community can, in any situation, make up for a non-existent political will and impose peace on those who deliberately choose war. The expectations of what the international community can and should do must, therefore, be realistic and adapted to circumstances.

It is also worrying that, while the international community is accused of showing a lesser interest in, or commitment to, resolving African conflicts than those elsewhere, the decisions of the Security Council that have been taken and that seek to guarantee peace are openly flouted.

In the case of the conflict in Angola, for example, the United Nations has dedicated significant human and material resources in the search for a negotiated solution. But, so far, to no avail. We are now faced with reports of persistent violations of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council on UNITA that sought to prevent that movement from acquiring the weapons that would allow it to continue the war. In this way, UNITA is not only in violation of Security Council resolutions, but also of the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol it signed of its own free will. Portugal fully supports the determination expressed yesterday by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, to promote efforts aimed at putting an end to what he called the bleeding and destruction that are taking place in Angola, essentially due to the intransigence of the UNITA leadership.

There is undeniable proof that those States that practise good governance and respect democracy, the principles of the rule of law and human rights enjoy incomparably higher levels of stability, development and well-being than those States under authoritarian regimes that violate or defend a limited and restricted concept of human rights.

Now we should also pursue the process of reflection started by the Secretary-General in his speech before the General Assembly last week on how the United Nations should respond to situations of crisis that threaten the basic values inherent to human dignity. In this context, we need only recall what occurred in Rwanda.

On the economic front, Africa should not merely be an exporter of raw materials for the more developed countries, thereby remaining on the margins of the trend towards the new economic globalization. Africa must be fully integrated into the world economy in parity with and competitive with the more developed regions; otherwise, existing developmental delays will only worsen. This will more readily succeed with the continued and deepened process of regional integration in

Africa, which, by its very nature, will reduce the risk of political instability among States and create at the same time more attractive markets for foreign investment.

The reduction of the debt of African countries is a fundamental element for their economic development, since this will free the resources necessary for development projects and programmes — resources that would otherwise be consigned to servicing that debt. However, the reduction or forgiveness of debt should be accompanied on the part of debtor countries by solid macroeconomic reforms and policies that eliminate existing distortions by way of a rigorous and transparent management of the funds made available.

We believe that what is needed now is a candid dialogue in the international community on the best way to tackle the challenges faced by Africa. Portugal has sought to work together with its African partners in the development of a close and mutually beneficial relationship between Europe and Africa. In this context, the planned Cairo summit of the European Union and Africa, which is expected to be held next April, represents an important opportunity to expand and deepen this dialogue. Portugal believes that this summit will be an important contribution to placing on a firmer footing the long-term relationship between Europe and Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of Portugal for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Haryono (Indonesia): The delegation of Indonesia wishes to express its appreciation to you, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Security Council for convening this meeting at a critical juncture for the continent of Africa.

As in the past, we welcome the initiatives taken by the Security Council to consider issues of importance in the format of an open debate, including the current debate on the situation in Africa. We remain confident that this openness and transparency will also be seen in the near future in the Council's main discussion on the maintenance of international peace and security. We continue to believe that such practices are essential in stimulating new ideas and approaches and in resolving the numerous issues on its agenda.

Our deliberations today reflect the continuing significance that the international community accords to the issues concerning Africa, particularly those relating to security and socio-economic development.

Let me take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his progress report on the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. It provides a unique opportunity to take stock of the significant achievements and progress made by the people of Africa and, concurrently, to focus attention on the need for enhanced international cooperation for the establishment of a partnership in the continent with the rest of the world based on mutual benefit and prosperity.

Africa today stands at the threshold of the next millennium closer to attaining its goals of stable peace and economic prosperity. It is gratifying to note that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and subregional organizations in Africa are playing an increasingly important role in the resolution of conflicts. These endeavours were bolstered by the appointment of special envoys, representatives and contact groups and by the holding of special conferences whose task it was to examine the sources of conflict and to recommend practical solutions.

Thus the Lomé Peace Agreement on Sierra Leone, the OAU Framework Agreement on the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia and the ceasefire agreement for the Democratic Republic of the Congo demonstrate the determination of these countries to seek solutions to their problems, and the resolve of regional and subregional organizations to assume primary responsibility for the resolution of conflicts. They also show the indispensable role that the United Nations can play in facilitating the attainment of these objectives, especially in peacekeeping.

Notwithstanding its inherent difficulties, peacekeeping remains a vital component in assisting African States to resolve conflicts. Therefore, cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in enhancing and strengthening African capacity for peacekeeping — particularly in the areas of training, dissemination of information, civilian police and logistical support — remains crucial. It is worth noting that, while the reinforcement of the African countries' capacity in peacekeeping is a priority, it should not relieve the Security Council of its obligation under the Charter for the maintenance of peace and security, nor

does it constitute grounds for discouragement or disengagement.

The Secretary-General's progress report also touches upon the need to reinforce the ongoing debate on targeted sanctions, with particular reference to arms embargoes and violation regarding arms trafficking. As a follow-up, we look forward to the detailed recommendations.

My delegation shares the concern of African States caused by the illicit and covert arms trade, involving a circuitous network of manufacturers, buyers, suppliers and distributors, often operating outside the control of State authorities. The easy availability of weapons and munitions has been a disincentive to the peaceful political settlements that are sorely overdue in many protracted cases of civil strife in which civilians have become targets. On the other hand, it is important to recognize that civil wars are not entirely an internal phenomenon, as weapons to fight such conflicts often originate from external sources.

Numerous initiatives taken in Africa have not only promoted a greater understanding of the consequences of illicit arms flow, but have also developed a strategy for addressing the scope and approaches that may be envisioned on an issue that is admittedly complex. These include addressing the root causes of conflicts and non-interference in areas of tension by States in pursuit of specific interests. We are gratified to note that several African countries have taken steps in this regard. The resumption of debate last week on these and related issues by the Security Council was both timely and appropriate in raising consciousness on the causes and global consequences of the unchecked flow of illegal arms.

The struggle to bring about peace and security in Africa is intrinsically linked with economic growth and development. We fully agree with the Secretary-General's statement in his progress report that conflict prevention and post-conflict peace-building are meaningless unless they enable a society to develop. For years the promotion of peace and development in Africa has been a major concern of the international community. This is manifest by the vast numbers of initiatives launched by the United Nations and other organizations. The stakes are high — a whole continent yearns to lift itself out of underdevelopment and poverty and in many cases to overcome social and ethnic tensions and conflicts. Absolute poverty, which still afflicts 44 per cent of the population of the continent as a whole, with 51 per cent of those people living in the sub-Saharan countries, is unacceptable. Likewise, more must be done for the approximately three-quarters of all people infected by the HIV/AIDS virus who now live in Africa.

The past decade has been a mixed one, with, at times, virtual economic stagnation and at others significant progress. Africa still faces horrendous development constraints. In this context, the Secretary-General's report made recommendations on a number of critical core issues on which progress must be achieved. While some efforts have shown results, others, such as the endeavour to increase market access for African exports, including of the developed countries, in the framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and of the Lomé Convention, still need to be pursued.

Likewise, financial flows for development to Africa have been negatively affected by globalization, particularly regarding multilateral financial flows. Since only a very small percentage of foreign direct investment flows to Africa, many African countries that are unable to tap into such flows have become increasingly marginalized.

Closely associated with appropriate development financing, and an unbearable constraint on revitalizing African growth and development, is external indebtedness. Despite the many initiatives undertaken, particularly the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Debt Initiative, Africa's debt stock continues to increase. In this regard, we look forward to the implementation of the recent Köln debt initiative, adopted by the Group of 8 in June this year, as a significant step towards cutting the debt burden of some of the world's poorest.

Debt relief and cancellations, while critically needed, represent only one of a number of major requirements within the integrated framework approach necessary to ensure sustained growth and sustainable development. Indonesia therefore supports the call from the OAU for an international agreement to clear the debt stock of the poorest countries in Africa. This would represent an important step in the effort to revitalize the economic performance of these countries and put them back on the path of development. Likewise, we see merit in the proposal for creditor countries to convert into grants the remaining official bilateral debt of the poorest African countries.

As stated in the report of the Secretary-General, Africa today reveals a remarkable combination of accomplishments and unresolved problems, of opportunities seized and chances missed. In the

endeavour to overcome the problems of Africa, the countries of the region and continent cannot act by themselves. A wider concrete participation of the international community is definitely necessary.

In this context, we would like to add that if the international community, just recently, was able to act in a concerted and comprehensive manner to resolve an issue which had received so much global attention, we firmly believe that if the same concerted and comprehensive approach were applied to Africa, it would surely resolve many of the major problems facing that continent.

Finally, in the context of the new dialogue and relationship between the international community and the African continent, Indonesia — following the example it set back in 1955, in Bandung, which contributed to the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement — is still firmly committed to assisting its partners in Africa in achieving their vision of a peaceful and prosperous Africa. That support has been consistently reflected in Indonesia's support of Africa's objectives; through our active participation in many international and regional forums, including our participation in various peacekeeping operations and South-South cooperation; and also through the strong bilateral relations that Indonesia maintains throughout the continent.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Republic of Korea. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lee See-young (Republic of Korea): Mr. President, I would like first of all to extend our appreciation to you for taking the very successful initiative of organizing this open debate on the important issue of the situation in Africa. We highly commend the Netherlands' contribution to the promotion of transparency in the work of the Security Council, as demonstrated by its initiatives of having organized already two open briefings and now the second open debate this month. I would also like to pay my tribute to Prime Minister Wim Kok for his leadership.

My delegation is also grateful to the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, for his comprehensive and timely progress report on the implementation of the recommendations contained in his Africa report of April last year and for his insightful statement yesterday morning.

Mr. President, as we debate the situation in Africa today, I would like to echo the positive note struck by your Foreign Minister last week in his address to the General Assembly:

> "Africa is not a land of troubles only but of happiness as well, not a continent of catastrophe only but equally one of hope." *(A/54/PV.13)*

Indeed, this continent of hope is experiencing significant positive changes on many fronts. In two key African States, South Africa and Nigeria, we have witnessed the swearing-in of democratically elected leaders, a development that should generate momentum for democratic forces across the African continent. These two new leaders, President Mbeki of South Africa and President Obasanjo of Nigeria, together with many other African leaders, strongly advocated before the General Assembly last week the importance of democratic good governance as a foundation for peace and development in Africa. We also appreciate the able leadership of President Bouteflika of Algeria, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and of Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, OAU Secretary General. Their role continues to be indispensable in promoting peace and development in Africa.

Important progress has also been made recently in some of the most intractable conflict situations in Africa, including the Peace Agreement in Sierra Leone, the Ceasefire Agreement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the electoral transition under way in the Central African Republic. I am reminded that just a few days ago, President Chiluba of Zambia made an eloquent statement to the Security Council on the Lusaka process for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which he has mediated with tremendous energy and commitment. We believe that the international community must work hard, together with African leaders, to sustain this hard-won momentum for true peace and stability in those regions.

Against this backdrop, the Secretary-General has submitted his report on the implementation of the recommendations contained in his report on Africa. My delegation notes with appreciation that, since the issuance of his comprehensive report on Africa, the whole United Nations system, under the leadership of the Secretary-General, and of the Security Council in particular, has taken various follow-up decisions to address many aspects of the challenges Africa faces today. My delegation fully agrees with Secretary-General Kofi Annan that the problems facing Africa require a comprehensive approach, integrating security, political and socio-

economic dimensions. We believe that this holistic approach is possible only in the context of the United Nations system, with the full support of the African countries and the international community as a whole.

Having said that, allow me to touch upon several points which, in our view, require the priority attention of the Security Council. First, my delegation wishes to highlight the importance of conflict prevention in Africa. Given the many potential contingencies in Africa, there is an urgent need to build up the capacity to prevent conflicts through early warning and early action. We believe that the establishment of post-conflict peace-building support structures in Guinea-Bissau, Liberia and other countries, as aptly described in the Secretary-General's progress report, has set a good example applicable to conflict prevention in these and other potential conflict areas.

We also believe that the Secretary-General's Trust Fund for Preventive Action has served, and will continue to serve, as a useful vehicle to enhance the capabilities of the United Nations for conflict prevention in Africa and elsewhere. My Government has contributed annually to the Trust Fund since its inception in 1997, and will shortly announce its additional contributions for this year. We welcome the decision announced earlier by the United Kingdom to contribute to the Fund. We call upon all other Member States that have not done so to make their financial resources available to the Fund in order to enable the Secretary-General to expand his initiatives for preventive action in potential conflict areas in Africa and elsewhere.

Secondly, we believe that rapid response is crucial to containing deadly conflict and alleviating human suffering. Further efforts should be made by African countries themselves to build and enhance their own peacekeeping capacity. On the other hand, we also support the various measures undertaken by the United Nations to upgrade Africa's peacekeeping capacity, including such measures as staff-exchange programmes between the United Nations and the OAU; the United Nations-led training assistance for African peacekeepers; and the coordination with the Economic Community of West African States. However, we share the concern expressed by the Secretary-General over how to provide logistic support to African troops involved in peacekeeping operations in the early stages of conflicts. We consider it necessary to explore the possibility of establishing a stand-by arrangement for such logistic support.

Thirdly, my delegation joins others in emphasizing once again the importance of controlling the flow of arms in Africa, which has often fuelled the conflicts there. In the Council's open debate last week, we heard insightful statements from the Council members, including those of many Foreign Ministers, on how to bring the proliferation of small arms under control, particularly in Africa. We reiterate the belief that arms embargoes should be imposed and strictly implemented in all conflict situations. Furthermore, with cross-border arms flows rampant, country-specific arms embargoes may not suffice to stem illicit arms trafficking, thus requiring cooperation at the regional level. In this connection, we support the efforts made by the Secretariat to encourage African States to adopt national legislation making the violation of Security Council arms embargoes a criminal offence.

Fourthly, we take note from the progress report of the continuing efforts made by the Secretariat and the Security Council to refine the use of sanctions in Africa. While we recognize the difficulty in the real world of achieving "smart sanctions", we believe that there is a recurring need to minimize the collateral — though unintended — human suffering, through the imposition of more specifically targeted sanctions and periodic review mechanisms. In this connection, we commend Ambassador Fowler of Canada, Chairman of the Angola sanctions Committee, for his valuable efforts in tracking not only the illegal diamond trade and oil sales, but also illicit arms trafficking by UNITA forces. I wish him and the Committee all the best in their important endeavour.

Fifthly, we have witnessed the ramifications of the failure to ensure the security and humanitarian character of refugee camps in some conflict situations, most notably in the Great Lakes region of Africa. We appreciate the successful campaigns undertaken by the United Nations system to relocate refugee populations to safe areas away from conflict zones in such countries as Guinea, Liberia and Chad. My delegation also commends the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, under the leadership of Madam Ogata, for having assisted many African countries in strengthening their police and other law-enforcement structures that handle security in refugee camps.

Last but not least, we share the Secretary-General's conviction that democratic good governance and sustainable development are fundamental for long-term peace and prosperity in Africa. The experience we acquired in our own development process illustrates that

good governance, based on democracy and respect for human rights and supported by free-market principles, better ensures peace, stability and prosperity in the long run. We note with appreciation the numerous achievements already made in these fields in Africa, as described in the Secretary-General's report. The international community should continue to work closely with African countries with a view to further enhancing their capacity for good governance and sustainable development.

My Government has always accorded high priority to the promotion of friendly ties, cooperation, solidarity and partnership with African countries. The Republic of Korea dispatched peacekeepers to Somalia, Angola and Western Sahara and joined electoral assistance missions in South Africa and Mozambique. We have consistently strengthened our cooperation with Africa in the field of development, including human resources capacity-building. Our relationship with Africa became even greater during our recent two-year service as a member of the Security Council. My delegation takes this opportunity to reaffirm the commitment and readiness of my Government to continue to make contributions to the collective efforts of the United Nations, the OAU and African countries for peace and development in Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of the Republic of Korea for the kind words he addressed to my delegation.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Belgium. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Adam (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): I wish first to congratulate the delegation of the Netherlands on the excellent manner in which it has been carrying out the duties of the presidency this month, particularly through the endeavours of the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Mr. Kok.

I associate myself with the statement made by the delegation of Finland as President of the European Union, especially with respect to the progress report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. Moreover, I fully subscribe to the views expressed by Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and by the representative of Algeria, on behalf of the current Chairman of the OAU.

Let me take this opportunity to explain my country's approach and aims with regard to Africa, and more specifically with regard to Central Africa and the Great Lakes region. The Vice-Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium, Mr. Louis Michel spoke in the General Assembly last week of the need for a more active and more generous policy towards the African continent, which has suffered so greatly; he even proposed that the fifty-fourth session of the Assembly should be held under the banner of Africa.

The Security Council too must demonstrate vision and shoulder its responsibility to restore peace in a continent which today has by far the world's largest number of victims of conflict — dead, wounded, missing, refugees, displaced persons and the victims of anti-personnel landmine — not to mention endemic diseases such as AIDS, malaria and sleeping sickness, which are an unprecedented scourge of the continent and which it is even more difficult to combat when the countries they affect are involved in war.

The Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement has aroused great hope. Now it must be implemented, and we would be very concerned by any delay or prevarication. This means that the parties concerned should demonstrate the political will to solve the root problems of the present conflict, and should seek lasting solutions throughout the region. To encourage and support them, the international community must make a considerable effort; here the Security Council must be a driving force.

The point is not to find ad hoc solutions to individual problems. In some regions of Africa, despair is so great that many see no prospects for improving their lot other than through armed struggle. We must change that way of thinking by showing that only peace can bring happiness and prosperity: peace, and certainly not military victories that bring illusory gains at the cost of untold suffering.

We therefore believe that peace should be complemented by a partnership pact setting out specific commitments in the economic, financial and social areas. Such a pact would mobilize donor countries and international financial institutions and their resources as well as recipient countries. Belgium will make its contribution and will step up its direct contacts, its cooperation and its financial support.

History has forged special links between my country and that region, along with responsibilities which my

country intends to shoulder in a responsible and consistent manner, as Mr. Michel said last week. Belgium has the capacity to do this. My country has a reserve of men and women with experience of Central Africa, its customs, its languages and its economy. Our institutes of agronomy have acquired great expertise in tropical agriculture and animal husbandry, and the Antwerp Institute of Tropical Medicine has a well-deserved reputation worldwide. Those are only some examples of the kind of potential that Belgium can place at the service of Africa.

Africa must help us help Africa, for if the world's good intentions are to be effective in benefitting that continent, African leaders too must work to create a context for the peace and good governance that are necessary for development. Financial and technical cooperation can exist only in a climate that ensures its effectiveness. Cooperation cannot be based on giving partners the benefit of the doubt: it develops and flourishes in a climate of predictability and stability.

The President: I thank the representative of Belgium for the kind words he addressed to my delegation.

The next speaker is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Satoh (Japan): At the outset, Sir, I should like to express my sincere appreciation to you for convening, for the fourth time this month, an open debate of the Security Council. I wish also to welcome the Secretary-General's progress report on Africa which was issued last Saturday, and to thank the Secretary-General for the statement he delivered yesterday morning.

Although the purpose of this meeting is to consider the seemingly intractable problems confronting African countries, I would like first to note some positive developments that have taken place in Africa in recent years. The importance of Africa in the international community cannot be overstated, and the progress we are witnessing in Africa in development, democratization and regional cooperation is indeed reassuring to the entire international community. In the course of this past year alone, for example, we have seen the transition to a civilian regime in Nigeria, the holding for the second time of democratic elections in South Africa, and the successful presidential election held in Algeria.

I would also like to note the peace agreement that was signed in Lomé between the Government of Sierra Leone and the rebel group, the Revolutionary United Front, and the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement between the Government and rebel groups in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. There are also hopeful signs of progress towards a settlement of the border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea. And on the economic front, many African countries have registered annual gross domestic product growth rates of well over 5 per cent during the course of this decade.

We also need to recognize the admirable activities which regional organizations have been undertaking in order to advance the cause of peace and prosperity in Africa. The roles that the Economic Community of West African States and the Southern African Development Community have been playing in maintaining security and promoting economic development in the western and southern African regions are crucially important and highly commendable. It is also encouraging that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit, held in Algeria this July under the leadership of President Bouteflika in his capacity as Chairman of the OAU, attracted the participation of an unprecedented number of heads of State or Government. Having attended the summit as head of Japan's observer mission, I witnessed and admired a new dynamism that is emerging in Africa.

While we are encouraged by these positive developments, the fact remains that many countries in Africa are faced with difficult obstacles as they struggle to achieve political stability and to pursue economic and social development. Of the most immediate concern are grinding poverty and the recurrence of conflicts, which have resulted in 8 million refugees and displaced persons. Unless these problems are resolved, prospects for international stability and prosperity in the new millennium will not be promising.

As underlined by the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa, poverty and conflict are interrelated. Indeed, in many regions of the continent we are witnessing a vicious circle in which poverty is exacerbated by frequent conflicts at the same time that poverty itself is one of the causes of the occurrence and recurrence of conflict. Hence, poverty is an issue which should be our primary focus now and in the twenty-first century, with the United Nations, other international organizations, States and civil society coordinating their efforts towards its alleviation.

The Tokyo Agenda for Action adopted at the Second Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD II), which Japan co-hosted with the United Nations last October, calls for a combination of efforts and cooperation to cope with the questions of poverty and conflict. These include increased efforts by African countries themselves, cooperation among African countries, developed countries and international organizations and cooperation between Asia and Africa. The TICAD process has already entered the implementation stage. Last month Japan co-hosted, with the Government of Kenya, the United Nations Development Programme and the International Monetary Fund, a seminar on debt management, and Japan has established, with the cooperation of the Government of Malaysia, the Asia-Africa Investment and Technology Promotion Centre in Kuala Lumpur for the purpose of facilitating flows of investment and trade information with regard to Africa. Japan is also planning to hold four subregional review conferences in Africa by the end of the year 2000 with the aim of further promoting implementation of the Tokyo Agenda for Action.

Debt is the most serious issue facing many African countries. Japan, for its part, has been contributing to the alleviation of debt problems by rescheduling debts and extending grant aid for debt relief, and will make further efforts to address this difficult problem by implementing the commitment it made at the G-7 summit meeting in Cologne in June. Japan is also determined to continue to extend effective, efficient and high-quality official development assistance to African countries, despite its domestic budgetary difficulties, while at the same time strengthening its cooperation with the various bodies and agencies of the United Nations.

In conflict prevention, my Government has long advocated a comprehensive approach which embraces conflict prevention and resolution, peacekeeping and peace-building, post-conflict reconstruction and development, the establishment of good governance and the elimination of potential causes of conflict, most particularly poverty.

With regard to the issues of peacekeeping and peace-building, we believe that the roles of regional organizations such as OAU and the Economic Community of West African States, must be strengthened further. Close cooperation between those regional organizations and the United Nations is without a doubt crucial to maximizing international efforts to bring peace to the troubled countries. With this in mind, the Japanese Government has been making financial contributions to the OAU Peace Fund.

On the issue of small arms, to which Japan gives the highest priority, we strongly hope that the General Assembly will adopt, during this session, a resolution endorsing the report of the Secretary-General prepared with the assistance of the Group of Governmental Experts on Small Arms (A/54/258). Japan also intends to contribute to the success of the international conference on the illicit arms trade in all its aspects, which is to be held no later than 2001.

We also regard it as a matter of high priority to extend assistance to landmine victims, many of whom are children. In December 1997, Japan announced the Zero Victims Programme and pledged financial support of approximately $80 million for mine clearance and victim assistance during the subsequent five-year period. To date, Japan's contributions amount to about $45 million.

Post-conflict reconstruction and development is another important area in which international cooperation is required. Among many other issues involved, the reintegration of ex-combatants, particularly children abused as soldiers, should be given high priority, for the success of this process is the key to preventing the recurrence of conflicts.

The Government of Japan, for its part, is prepared to support all the aspects of post-conflict reconstruction and development, ranging from the rehabilitation of refugees and displaced persons to the reintegration of ex-combatants, to the restoration of damaged lives and to the reconstruction and development of the economies of the countries concerned. In this context, I would stress that field activities to cope with humanitarian emergencies, which often start before the fighting ends, should be well coordinated with other activities related to reconstruction and development.

There is no doubt that African countries, with their tremendous potential, can become important partners in the global efforts for peace and prosperity. We sincerely hope that the Security Council will continue to apply its experience, expertise and wisdom to the resolution of Africa's problems.

Japan is advocating that the international community should place a more distinct focus on human security as we enter the next millennium. Poverty and conflict are two major threats to human security in Africa. In other

words, freedom from poverty and conflict is essential in order to enhance human security in Africa. Recognizing this, Japan will continue to work for the betterment of conditions in Africa, with implementation of the TICAD process as the central means towards that end.

The President: I thank the representative of Japan for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mwamba Kapanga (*spoke in French*): The current meeting of the Security Council on the situation in Africa is an initiative of the Government and of the representative of the Netherlands, President of the Council for the month of September. Allow me, first of all, to express my delegation's warmest congratulations and our gratitude for this praiseworthy initiative.

Like the others who have spoken before me, my delegation would like to tell the Secretary-General that it greatly appreciates the report (S/1999/1008) that he presented on the situation in Africa, which sheds much-awaited light on the subject of our statements here. The Democratic Republic of the Congo also notes the wish expressed by various speakers on the necessary cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which must take root and be improved if we want to deal effectively and in a concerted manner with the many security problems that impose enormous and undeserved suffering on the African States.

As the head of our delegation, Mr. Yerodia Abdoulaye Ndombasi, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, said in his statement yesterday in the general debate of the General Assembly at its fifty-fourth session, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been experiencing an armed aggression since 2 August 1998 described by the Secretary-General of OAU as pointless and senseless. This aggression is forcing enormous sacrifices on the innocent people of my country, whether they reside in free areas or in occupied provinces.

My delegation does not wish here to go back over this shameful, senseless war of aggression, whose notorious history is known to you all. The suffering and destitution that it is imposing on our people, already bruised by three decades of civil chaos and poverty, should provoke universal revulsion and lead the international community to lend all its weight to putting an end to this quickly: the credibility of the United Nations depends on it.

Although we are the victim of this unjustified aggression, from the very beginning of this war the Democratic Republic of the Congo has nevertheless sought peace. This is why it has attended all the meetings organized in Africa and elsewhere in the world to discuss a negotiated end to it. The Rwandan and Ugandan aggressors, however, were conspicuous by their absence at most of these meetings, or used delaying tactics to prolong their occupation of our territory.

As you know, Mr. President, on 10 July 1999, following very difficult negotiations conducted by President Chiluba under the aegis of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Organization of African Unity, the heads of State of the six countries involved in this war of aggression signed in Lusaka, Zambia, the Ceasefire Agreement for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, commonly called the Lusaka Agreement. Practical modalities and a specific timetable for implementation of the Agreement are annexed to it and form an integral part of it.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo attaches particular importance to the implementation and success of the Lusaka Agreement, which states the need to find solutions to the security concerns of the Democratic Republic of the Congo as well as those of its neighbours. This concern has already been expressed by my Government by organizing in May 1998 the conference on solidarity and development in the Great Lakes region, a conference that was unfortunately sabotaged by those now attacking us.

My Government reaffirmed this concern within the framework of the Lusaka Agreement, in accepting the establishment of a mechanism to disarm militias and armed groups found in our territory. The Agreement also urges the countries of origin of the members of these armed groups to commit themselves to taking all the necessary steps to facilitate their repatriation. The assistance of the United Nations in this process is very much needed. In giving such assistance, the world Organization would help to prevent aggressor countries from finding a new pretext to attack the Democratic Republic of the Congo again once their troops have been withdrawn from Congolese territory and their withdrawal has been verified.

I categorically deny the false allegations made here and the nonsense spoken by the Rwandan delegation, to the effect that the Interahamwe militias had been integrated into the Congolese armed forces. Until 2 August 1998 the Congolese armed forces were led by senior Rwandan officers, who were incapable of flushing out the least of the Interahamwe. Since then the Rwandans have occupied the north-eastern part of our territory, through which the Interahamwe have supposedly passed in order to attack Rwanda. Thus far the Rwandans have not produced a single Interahamwe militia member, dead or alive.

To return to the Lusaka Agreement, I would like to draw the Council's attention to the fact that, as during the negotiations, immediately after the signing of the Agreement the aggressors resumed their diversionary tactics in order to delay its implementation as long as possible.

Due to an alleged dispute over the leadership of the so-called rebels, we had to wait 51 days — until 31 August 1999 — for them to sign the Agreement with the support of their sponsors, since Presidents Museveni of Uganda and President Bizimungu of Rwanda, in person, announced the news of the signing to their peers in SADC, meeting at the SADC summit in Maputo, Mozambique.

Since then nothing stipulated in the Agreement has been implemented. Rather, the aggressors are using the Agreement as an excuse to prolong indefinitely their presence on our territory. The Joint Military Commission remains a dead letter, despite the appointment of its Chairman, because the so-called rebels have still not chosen their representatives and the necessary funds have yet to be released. The inter-Congolese national dialogue has still not begun, and the question of choosing facilitators has yet to be resolved, since the aggressors have yet to follow up on my Government's proposals. Nor has any withdrawal of troops to defensive positions been observed.

Defying the truce called for by the Secretary-General for the national vaccination days Rwandan and Ugandan troops carried out a fratricidal war on our territory, in Kisangani. A great deal of infrastructure was completely destroyed and 3 million doses of polio and smallpox vaccine were lost, threatening our children with lifelong disabilities. But the Democratic Republic of the Congo condemns above all the death of more than a hundred innocent Congolese victims in Kisangani. The town will for ever mourn their deaths.

Despite the signing of the Lusaka Agreement by all the parties, the Rwandans and Ugandans continue to mass troops, military equipment and heavy weapons around the mining towns of our country, such as Mbuji-Mayi, Beni and Butembo. They continue to appoint governors of provinces. They even raise customs barriers within provinces they occupy, link these provinces and their cities, establish and use air connections, and so forth, thus carrying out their wicked intention of partitioning our territory. All these activities are taking place under the eyes and within earshot of the international community. The United Nations and the OAU — which are parties to the Agreement, and whose charters are obviously being violated — making the slightest protest, even though, by resolutions 1234 (1999) and 1258 (1999), the Security Council reaffirmed the need to respect the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

How can we explain to our African populations this new source of despair, involving their being daily discriminated against and marginalized by international institutions, in political, humanitarian, economic and military interventions?

The Council knows full well the costs to the international community of the humanitarian intervention to aid European refugees, from Bosnia and Kosovo, with those incurred to help African refugees, from Somalia, Sierra Leone, the Sudan, Angola or the Democratic Republic of the Congo. There is no need to point out the speed with which decisions have been taken to intervene to end conflicts in Europe, Asia or the Middle East; the dazzling speed at which enormous financial, material and human resources are assembled; and the precision with which the missions of the forces are defined, within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter.

How can we not note strongly and with indignation that when it is a question of an African conflict the Security Council cannot decide, or does so haltingly? It often cites budgetary reasons for not being able to mobilize the necessary financial, material and human resources. It discharges its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security by entrusting it to the OAU, which must both come up with the necessary resources and define the missions of hypothetical buffer forces.

Finally, the Council is aware that, in Europe, Asia or the Middle East the deployment of United Nations forces ends only after a political solution imposes on the

warring parties respect for the relevant provision of the Charter of the United Nations. In Africa, on the other hand, the tragedies in Somalia and Angola — to mention only those two — show that the deployment and hasty withdrawal of United Nations forces allows situations to worsen and exacerbates conflicts.

In describing this situation, far be it from my delegation to cast aspersions on our world Organization. Prominent world figures, such as the President of the French Republic, Mr. Jacques Chirac, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Sadako Ogata, have recently and on various occasions raised this issue in order to draw the international community's attention to this glaring and unbearable injustice.

Thus, my delegation reaches out to such Africans as the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General to tell them that the peoples, nations and countries of Africa cannot understand how, under their shared mandate, Africa remains the unbeloved wallflower of the Security Council with respect to the settlement of armed conflicts. They have the important and noble task of sounding the alarm to wake the United Nations from its stupor, so that the goal of peace and harmony does not remain for our peoples, nations and countries a mere dream, which, as everyone knows, is the guardian of sleep.

By Security Council resolution 1234 (1999), unanimously adopted on 9 April 1999, the United Nations clearly established that the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a victim of its neighbours' aggression. Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi are thus in clear violation of the United Nations Charter, which every Member is called on to respect and defend. The Government of my country takes note of Security Council resolution 1258 (1999) of 6 August 1999.

My delegation wishes to reiterate the words of Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who writes in his report S/1999/790:

> "The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has inflicted further terrible suffering on a country already heavily burdened with poverty and neglect. An estimated 700,000 persons are displaced within the country, in addition to some 300,000 refugees located on its territory... The conflict has been characterized by appalling, widespread and systematic human rights violations, including mass killings, ethnic cleansing, rape and the destruction of property... The international community and the United Nations should therefore do everything in their power to assist the Congolese Government, parties and people, as well as the other Governments involved, in achieving a peaceful solution." (*S/1999/790, paras. 13-14*)

My Government makes a solemn and emotional appeal to the entire international community in general, and to the Security Council in particular, inviting them to become fully involved in the immediate implementation of the Lusaka Agreement so as to put an end to the untold suffering of my people. The Security Council must, first, exert firm political pressure on the aggressors to respect the ceasefire and to compel them to withdraw their troops and arms from Congolese territory and to go home; secondly, proceed to the rapid and massive deployment of United Nations peacekeeping forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; and thirdly, assist in the rapid organization and successful convening of inter-Congolese political negotiations.

My delegation should like to conclude by saying quite simply that a Congolese national is no different from a national of Kosovo or East Timor. He has a head, eyes, arms, legs, hair. Like the national of Kosovo or East Timor, the Congolese national is a human being. He, too, has the right to life; he, too, has the right to expect his fundamental rights to be respected. The colour of his skin does not make him a sub-human being. When the international community feels that certain reprehensible acts are unacceptable in this waning century, it is obliged and duty-bound to prevent them from being committed and perpetuated in my country.

The President: I thank the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for his kind words addressed to my delegation.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Morocco. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Snoussi (Morocco) (*spoke in French*): It is a real pleasure for us to participate in this special meeting of the Security Council to address the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict in Africa. My delegation takes this opportunity to welcome the efforts of the United Nations, led by Secretary-General Kofi Annan, to ensure that the international community is ever

mindful of the serious situation and tragedies of the African continent.

What can we add to what was said last year, since peace remains precarious and economic and social development in Africa is encountering increasingly insurmountable obstacles? Indeed, the general situation on the continent is extremely disturbing, despite the various attempts of the international community to relaunch economic growth and development. We refer, *inter alia*, to the United Nations System-wide Special Initiative for Africa, the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa and the Tokyo Conference, whose promoters we commend.

As the Secretary-General properly emphasizes in his report before the Council,

> "There are... places where the widely held view of Africa as a region in perpetual crisis is not just an image but an all-too-grim and painful reality". (*S/1999/1008, para. 96*)

It is very difficult, unfortunately, to ignore the excessive arms purchases, the bad governance, the AIDS epidemic, the corruption, the impediments to trade and the foreign debt burden that continue to hinder the development process of many African countries. Thus, 44 per cent of Africans, and 51 per cent of those who live south of the Sahara, are in a state of abject poverty. Of the 30 million people around the world infected with HIV/AIDS, 23 million live in sub-Saharan Africa.

How can we ignore the fact that Africa's foreign debt burden rose to $350 billion in 1998, amounting to 30 per cent of the value of exported goods and services, whereas African exports declined by 15 per cent in 1998 and direct foreign investment amounted to a mere 3 per cent of world trade. At the same time, official development assistance has fallen by 40 per cent since 1992 and now represents a mere 0.2 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries, whereas the internationally agreed target is 0.7 per cent. Thus, Africa's prospects are by no means promising, since the economic growth rate foreseen for 1999 will probably not rise above 3 per cent, which, because of the rapid growth of our populations, is equivalent to zero growth in terms of gross national product per capita.

This picture should not, however, overshadow the praiseworthy efforts of many African countries — ours among them — to emerge from instability and crisis.

As the Secretary-General properly emphasized, democratic elections are becoming more common and good governance and the rule of law are gradually becoming an established fact, while judicial and legislative reforms are being actively undertaken in order to improve the competitiveness of African economies, reforms such as trade liberalization, privatization of State enterprises and the setting up of adequate infrastructures.

Morocco is contributing to this common endeavour for the development of Africa by devoting 95 per cent of its cooperation budget to finance projects and programmes in friendly African countries. It has also contributed to promoting a spirit of responsibility and good governance in African public institutions by hosting on two occasions, in 1994 and 1998, the African conference of civil service Ministers, whose results were endorsed by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Faced with the magnitude of the challenges to be met in Africa, particularly with regard to restoring peace and security and reducing poverty, the international community must give its full support to African efforts. Strengthening the African mechanism for conflict resolution, reducing the external debt and opening markets to African exports could and should radically improve the landscape with respect to security, the economy and the social situation, so long as they are the subject of concrete, resolute and coordinated action.

Morocco is convinced that only through genuine partnership, both national and international, can Africa achieve the 7 per cent growth rate regarded as necessary to considerably reduce poverty, according to the World Summit on Social Development.

The report of the Secretary-General accurately reflects the situation in our country. Democratization, liberalization, strengthening regional and subregional organizations for conflict resolution, restoring peace and security and dealing with the problems of arms and refugees are all tasks which deserve our attention and support.

As for the question of arms in Africa, particularly in regions of conflict, Morocco entirely supports the recommendations addressed to the Secretary-General by the Chairman of the Group of Governmental Experts on Small Arms that an international conference be held to step up and strengthen regional and international efforts to combat, prevent and eliminate the illicit trade in small arms in all its aspects. Everyone is aware that this trade

has contributed to intensifying and prolonging armed conflicts in Africa, and to further complicating peacekeeping efforts by impeding economic and social development in certain regions of the continent.

Furthermore, the challenge presented by small arms in Africa, in its humanitarian, security and development aspects, should encourage exporting countries to exercise stricter control over exports of such arms to countries in conflict or emerging from armed conflict. In this connection, my country appeals for the implementation of the Security Council resolutions establishing an embargo on weapons, and encourages the various moratoriums on the transfer of weapons to African countries where armed conflicts are raging.

In recent years Africa has felt frustrated at not receiving the same attention and treatment as areas outside the continent, when it has experienced conflicts which were often more serious, with victims numbered in the hundreds of thousands. Obviously, we attempt to settle our conflicts by our own means, but the international community is not giving us enough assistance. We will never be able to overcome the aftermath of the Great Lakes conflicts and the Somalia conflict, to cite just those two examples, if the international community does not help us.

The African approach to the settlement of conflicts necessarily presupposes that the donor countries support the African Mechanism for Conflict Resolution, by providing financial and material resources and training. The Secretary-General's approach to the resolution of conflicts in Africa appears to be very realistic, and Morocco gives it its full support. Nevertheless, we are unfortunately witnessing a lessening of the enthusiasm that led to the creation of this African Mechanism for Conflict Resolution because only one country so far has contributed to it, as the Secretary-General emphasized in his report.

Humanitarian assistance to the continent has also been particularly weak, particularly compared with the number of conflicts and the flows of refugees they provoke. Nothing can justify the international community's providing in 1999 only 50 per cent, and sometimes less than 25 per cent, of the necessary contributions to meet the humanitarian needs of Africa.

To maintain or restore peace in certain African regions, the Security Council has had to resort to sanctions regimes and peacekeeping operations. The Council's experience regarding sanctions as a means of pacification and maintaining peace and security has shown some immense shortcomings in this procedure and the seriousness of its impact at the humanitarian level. Sanctions as a means of persuasion or dissuasion should remain an exceptional procedure, resorted to by the Security Council when all other means of conflict resolution have been exhausted; that is, good offices, mediation, negotiation and arbitration. Therefore, sanctions should not be subjected to abstract rules and be applicable indefinitely without taking into account their impact on the civilian population, particularly without the benefit of all the necessary objective information.

I would here add a word about the concept of interference which has been bandied about recently. I appeal to all those who may speak about it or use it not to forget that the employment of this dangerous instrument deserves real reflection, and perhaps much deeper than we have been giving to the reform of the United Nations and even the restructuring of the Security Council, because it essentially calls into question our sovereignty, our cultures, our different civilizations and perhaps also our respective beliefs. Let us think about this very carefully together before taking any further steps in this direction.

In this regard, we welcome the laudable efforts the Secretary-General continues to make by quite properly encouraging the States, regional organizations and non-governmental organizations to give further thought both to this problem and to promoting sanctions when that is warranted, provided they are fair and as little damaging as possible.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of the United Arab Emirates. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) (*spoke in Arabic*): Mr. President, I join preceding speakers in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and wish you every success. I also express our thanks and appreciation to my colleague, the Ambassador and representative of Namibia, for his guidance of the presidency of the Council last month and wish him every success also. We thank the Secretary-General for his valuable statement, and for his report and the recommendations it contains for the Security Council concerning the developing situation in Africa, particularly in respect of the need for peace, security and social and economic development.

The debate in the Security Council today reflects the keen interest of the international community in continuing its efforts to effect positive change in Africa by settling or containing the current regional and civil conflicts and meeting the humanitarian and development needs of its peoples and States.

The United Arab Emirates agrees with the Secretary-General's important analysis and recommendations contained in his progress report on the situation in Africa. However, it is concerned about the increasing trend in weapons acquisitions in conflicts and towards increasing power struggles between factions over power itself and over natural resources.

This in turn has led to infrastructure destruction and to an increase in the number of internally and externally displaced persons, especially women, children and the elderly. We therefore believe that the responsibility for addressing these situations and phenomena falls to the African countries themselves, especially responsibility for showing the political will to implement ceasefire measures, halt the bloodshed and respond to peaceful efforts to promote security and stability at the national and regional levels.

We call also upon the international community, especially the Security Council, to revitalize peacekeeping operations, preventive diplomacy and post-conflict peace-building. They must also implement the resolutions under international law on halting trade and trafficking in small arms and other *matériel* to areas of tension, and strengthen coordination and cooperation mechanisms between the United Nations and OAU.

We welcome the recommendations and resolutions of the recent OAU Summit in our sister State, Algeria, which expressed the desire and resolve of OAU leaders both to continue efforts towards a peaceful settlement to the current conflicts and to undertake the necessary reforms of the social and economic development institutions in their countries more comprehensively. We also urge the developed countries and regional and international development institutions to provide assistance, grants and loans — official and unofficial — to African countries and to cancel their external debts, especially those of the poorest countries, to help them improve their economic, social and human capacities. We urge also that foreign investment should be encouraged and that the African countries should be provided with the facilities and support they need to export their products to world markets without constraint.

The United Arab Emirates, which shares bonds of friendship, history and culture with the countries of Africa, is keen to strengthening mutual cooperation with many of those countries, especially in the field of exchange of information and of experts in all cultural, economic and social fields. The United Arab Emirates also provides all manner of support, loans and official and unofficial humanitarian and development assistance through the Abu Dhabi and other financial and development funds to which it contributes. Also, unofficial assistance from private sector projects and national charitable associations such as the Red Crescent and the Zayid charitable association all help enable the countries of Africa to deal with their current crises and implement major development projects, especially as part of plans to rehabilitate national economies in line with the requirements of globalization, change, trade and economic relations. Investments and assistance from the United Arab Emirates to Africa amount to over $5 billion.

We reiterate that the economic sanctions imposed on our sister country, Libya, must be lifted now that it has honoured all its obligations in respect of the Lockerbie issue.

In conclusion, we hope that the Security Council will come to a consensus on measures to promote international and regional cooperation to lead Africa into a new era in which it will play a more significant part in international relations and in which its peoples will enjoy security, peace, stability and development.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Arab Emirates for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Comoros, His Excellency Mr. Souef Mohamed El-Amine. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. El-Amine (Comoros)(*spoke in French*): I am honoured to speak before this Council and to convey to you, Sir, my warm and sincere congratulations on your presidency of the Security Council. Your country has always lent an attentive ear to the problems faced by the African continent. Your initiative in convening this meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation in Africa is a good omen for us. We believe this to be a strong message from the Security Council to the international community on the eve of the third

millennium, and hope that this message will mark the end of an era of tragedy, conflict and poverty in Africa.

The commitment clearly expressed here in favour of the African continent cannot but encourage and strengthen the efforts already made by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and regional groups, and safeguard what has been achieved by African preventive diplomacy.

We have followed with great interest the exhaustive report presented by the Secretary-General; we also welcome and commend the tangible results obtained so far in the resolution of conflicts in Africa.

My country, the Islamic Federal Republic of Comoros, has not been spared the crises which are tearing apart children of the same family, the same region and the same country. That is why I wished to participate in this open and pragmatic discussion, to shed more light on the situation in the Comoros. The Secretary-General of the OAU and the representative of Algeria referred to this matter.

For more than two years this archipelago has been undergoing a unique crisis, which has challenged the very foundations of the State and threatened its unity and territorial integrity. One of its islands revolted, proclaiming sometimes that it would join the former colonial Power and sometimes that it was for independence, pure and simple. The Comorian State can in no way accept the Balkanization of the archipelago. When the matter was brought before the Organization of African Unity, it spared no effort to reach a peaceful, just and durable solution.

It must be emphasized that this unfortunate and disagreeable choice of the separatists was motivated by the precarious economic situation and by anxiety and despair about a gloomy and negative future, with an economic life dominated by an agricultural sector threatened by a slump in the sales of its products, public finances characterized by considerable deficits, a chronic deficit in the balance of payments, a very heavy external debt, salary arrears of sometimes more than six months per year, resource limitations that make it impossible for the Government to take proper charge of education and health in a country where the number of young people is more than 65 per cent of the population, widespread unemployment, and so on.

In other words, this was a legitimate problem to deal with, but the way it was done was unacceptable.

Thus, the problem is more economic than political, and any initiative to resolve it must necessarily take into account both aspects at once.

In this connection, we were pleased to welcome the special session on small island States, and we took due note of all the commitments made.

In the Comorian crisis, the mediation initiated by the OAU led to the organization of an inter-Comoros conference, which was held in Madagascar five months ago and which gave rise to enormous hopes for a happy outcome of this crisis. Agreements, which we believed to be an ideal framework to preserve the unity of the Comoros, were drawn up and placed before the parties involved in the crisis for signature.

To the surprise of all, the separatist delegation did not sign those agreements and asked for a delay in order to consult its base in Anjouan. The delay aroused the wrath of certain Grande Comore extremists, who rose up when the delegations returned to Moroni. The delaying tactics and the total abdication of the political authorities in the face of this situation only made the climate more and more tense and unbearable. The feelings of hatred and xenophobia towards our innocent brothers in Anjouan culminated in a mass exodus of our Anjouanese brothers to their island of origin.

Our country recently came close to a humanitarian disaster, but, fortunately, avoided it due to the actions of the national development army. A transition Government was immediately set up to establish peace and to lay solid foundations for a state of law, in the framework of the implementation of the Antananarivo agreements.

The Comorian Government endorsed the recommendations and the resolutions of the thirty-fifth summit of the OAU, held in Algiers, and is working feverishly to set up as soon as possible republican and democratic institutions. We urgently appeal to the international community to support this transparent process of institution-building.

I should like to pay tribute to the OAU, to the countries of the region — particularly South Africa — to France and to the entire international community for their solid commitment to helping Comorians recover their unity within their common borders. But now we have to go beyond defending principles and ask ourselves whether the deterioration of the crisis is not partly due to the complicity of separatists. The direct dialogue between

the powers in Moroni and the Anjouan group reflected the desire of the Comorian head of State to find in these meetings among Comorians the necessary energy to conclude a peace of the brave that would benefit and unite all. Dialogue continues to be our watchword.

The new authorities are convinced that an independent Anjouan has no future. The island will be only a tool in the service of various traffickers, a staging post for money-laundering and perhaps even a toxic waste depot controlled by the international mafia.

The economy of the region, security, peace and stability will thus be threatened. Thus, the efforts being made in Moroni and the good offices of the pan-African organization must be supported by the United Nations and the entire international community.

Can we now ascertain who has been financing the separatists for more than two years if Anjouan has no resources of its own? Who is providing the weapons? Who is maintaining the militias and the various armed factions? There are gray areas which need to be clarified if we want to avoid permanent instability in the Indian Ocean, which would cause lasting tensions.

The helping hand of the Comorian authorities, the flexibility in their desire to reach a final response respecting everyone's desires, the consolidation of peace, security and democratic freedoms and the oft-repeated affirmation of the desire to preserve the security and the rights of the Anjouanese in Grande Comore have not had any effect on the stubbornness of the separatists.

The State must be consolidated. The efforts to improve the situation and the economic and political restoration of the central authorities have to be supported. The international financial authorities and our various partners must agree to resume their dialogue with Moroni and apply themselves more to the task of breathing new life into the governance of public affairs, because it would be fatal if, on top of the secessionist crisis, the State were to be weakened. There would be no way to save the fragmented country, and the Comoros would therefore become a kind of Somalia, which would be a danger to the rest of the world.

I hope that the voice of reason will be heard and that together we can help the State of Comoros find the strength to defend the interests of its people.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Comoros for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Rodríguez Parrilla (Cuba) *(spoke in Spanish)*: Having had the opportunity to listen to more than 40 preceding speakers, the great concern of the international community over the current and future situation in Africa is quite obvious.

However, it is also clear that beyond the rhetoric and the generally well-developed reports, there is a lack of practical action and of the necessary political will on the part of industrialized countries to find ways to resolve the mounting and pressing problems of an entire continent. Those problems are not limited to internal conflicts or conflicts between States, but rather relate primarily to the poverty, marginalization and underdevelopment in which African nations are mired. We observe with concern that the measures that are announced are weak and poorly structured, while the African continent urgently requires massive and multifaceted assistance.

As a result, the continuous and systematic attention to the complexities of the situation in Africa goes well beyond the purview of the Security Council. While not disregarding the merits of this debate, we are convinced that it is up to the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and other bodies to act as coordinating centres for designing and implementing long-term measures that would guarantee the security, stability and, above all, the economic and social development of Africa, all of which are inextricably linked.

The inescapable reality is that there are currently more armed conflicts taking place in Africa than in any other continent. More than one third of the African countries are now or have recently been in conflict situations. If we really want to find effective and lasting solutions we cannot overlook the fact that the roots of the current problems are found in the centuries of colonial exploitation during which African economies were looted and distorted in order to turn them into providers of natural resources, raw materials and cheap manpower at the cost of the annihilation and enslavement of tens of millions of people.

Nor can we overlook the fact that the current unjust and unsustainable international economic order continues to treat Africa as an economically undeveloped source of natural wealth, that serves the unsustainable consumption patterns of industrialized countries, among which are included the former colonizers.

Official development assistance currently represents only 0.23 per cent of the gross national product of developed countries, which is well below the already insufficient 0.7 per cent that they had promised. This affects African countries in particular.

In 1998, Africa received less than $5 billion in foreign direct investment, representing only 3 per cent of the world total. From a level of $4.9 billion in 1997, Africa's current account deficit rose to the dizzying height of $16 billion in 1998. Forty-four per cent of the African population, and more than 50 per cent of the population in sub-Saharan Africa, lives in conditions of absolute poverty. The debt burden of African countries rose to $350 billion in 1998, which is more than 300 per cent of the total value of goods and services exported from that continent.

We cannot hope to stop the cycle of violence in Africa without developing and implementing solutions to help achieve the sustainable development of its economies. This is particularly so in this era of neo-liberal globalization in which the marginalization of developing economies and of the most vulnerable populations and the gap between the underdeveloped South and the industrialized North continue to grow.

Not only are the financial and material resources devoted by the international community and the international financial institutions to combat the real causes of conflicts in Africa completely inadequate, but there is also insufficient emergency financial aid being devoted to the needs of the African continent.

To illustrate the humanitarian crises in many African countries, most of which are the result of conflicts, we simply need to point out that in 1998 more than 8 million of the approximately 22 million refugees in the world were to be found in Africa. While the media have covered Kosovo to the point of saturation, the serious conflicts in Africa have gone almost un-noticed. Similarly, while the Security Council acts expeditiously in certain situations because of the interests of some members, in the case of many African conflicts they simply issue sporadic statements, even as its own resolutions continue to be flagrantly violated. The case of Angola and UNITA's violations constitute the clearest example of this.

Such unequal attention is also reflected in the insufficient response to Africa's resource needs, a response that is much lower than in the case of other continents. It is therefore necessary for us to devote the necessary resources to this undertaking, which, as the Secretary-General says in his report, is both "reasonable and doable". (S/1999/1008, para. 103)

Very little coverage has been given to the silent but alarming crisis of malaria and AIDS in Africa. The continent does not have the minimal resources to deal with the 23 million cases of AIDS that have already been reported and that grow exponentially every day. Two out of every three people infected by HIV live in Africa. More than $250 billion would be required in order for every patient in Africa to receive the necessary treatment that victims in rich countries already receive. Where are those resources to come from if today African countries can barely afford to devote $10 per capita per year from their meagre budgets to health expenditures? It is for this reason that 9 out of 10 people in the world who die of AIDS are from the African continent.

For Cuba — a country with deep African roots and a profound vocation of solidarity — it is an unshirkable duty to continue to contribute, despite its economic difficulties and meagre resources, to the development of the brotherly peoples of Africa. Almost 1,400 Cuban workers are currently providing assistance in Africa in various important sectors. The integral health plan that Cuba is developing in Central America and the Caribbean has been extended and will continue to be extended to African countries without any economic benefit for our country. Roughly 200 Cuban doctors are now providing their services completely free of charge in a number of African countries, a figure that should grow in the immediate future and that does not include those who work under contract — among whom over 400 are to be found in villages in southern Africa. No fewer than 3,000 Cuban doctors are at the disposal of this tormented and exploited region of the world as part of the new programme of completely free services that we are developing in the poorest countries of Africa that have the most difficult health conditions. We urge the industrialized countries to cooperate by contributing medicine. The life of a child can very often be saved by administering in a timely way a vaccine that costs only pennies.

Similarly, we will promote the creation of free medical schools with Cuban doctors in order to ensure that health workers in the field are adequately trained. Hundreds of African students are taking courses in Cuba at various levels and about 24,000 African professionals and technicians have graduated from our centres and we have trained more than 5,000 students; these people now contribute directly to the economic development of their countries. Up to 1998, more than 1,100 African students had graduated in Cuba in the health sector alone.

Furthermore, in recent years more than 80,000 Cuban civilian workers have lent their services in Africa, including almost 25,000 doctors, dentists, nurses and general health workers.

Cuba is ready to contribute valuable human resources to any comprehensive and urgent health campaign in Africa.

Africa urgently needs the international community; but the international community also needs a stable, strong and prosperous Africa.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Swaziland. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dlamini (Swaziland): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September, and especially on your convening of this debate on the situation in Africa.

Two years ago, we welcomed with relief the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa, contained in document S/1998/318. For this reason, we in Africa became optimistic that the world community, including the United Nations, would by now have fully devised appropriate structures to assist Africa in dealing effectively with the turbulent situations Africa continues to face.

To our dismay, however, efforts towards this end have not been easily forthcoming. Africa continues to be afflicted by a number of problems, such as wars, disease and poverty. Some of the problems facing Africa are inherent in colonial historical perspectives. It is for this reason that the people of Africa have been deprived continuously of their right to enjoy peace and security in their mother continent.

As a follow-up to the Secretary-General's initiative, we are pleased to note that concrete proposals for action, as outlined in his recent report (S/1999/1008), have been identified, particularly on support for regional and subregional initiatives in the areas of conflict prevention and the maintenance of peace. However, I must hasten to sound a word of caution here. These should not only remain on paper but should be implemented as and when necessity demands, for the continued hostilities in Africa dictate that the international community should come up with a new approach in order to ward off future civil strife. This is notwithstanding Africa's primary responsibility to resolve its own problems. Africa continues to count on a strong and genuine partnership with the international community towards the eradication of all root causes of conflicts and economic problems in Africa. Furthermore, we continue to count on the assistance of the United Nations and all our friends in tackling all of the humanitarian problems which linger and thus threaten Africa's survival.

We recently welcomed with open arms the ceasefire reached in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to end the conflict that has ravaged that country. We hail all the parties that have brought about the signing of the ceasefire agreement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly President Chiluba of Zambia, whose wisdom and diplomatic skills resulted in the signing of the ceasefire agreement. It is our fervent hope that all parties to the conflict will abide by the ceasefire agreement and be able to sit together and discuss ways and means to move forward in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The implementation process of the agreement remains crucial to the Congolese people and indeed to the entire African continent. In this regard, I wish to reiterate the call made by President Chiluba when he addressed the Council last week on the urgent need to send a peacekeeping force to the Democratic Republic of the Congo with a mandate to tackle the complex and unique problems in that country.

Furthermore, I wish to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that hundreds of thousands of Congolese people are today living as refugees in neighbouring countries. Within the country itself, a good number has been displaced. That situation alone demands that the international community should as a matter of priority make available adequate resources to enable the safe return of the Congolese people in their country.

While we share the joy of the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo over the ceasefire, a

peaceful situation in Angola has not been forthcoming. Reports of renewed fighting in some parts of the country are discouraging indeed. This is despite the joint efforts by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Southern African Development Community to help peacefully resolve the conflict. The people of Angola have suffered enough. The time has come for the international community to condemn unreservedly the acts of destabilization by the rebels led by Jonas Savimbi and his failure to respect the Lusaka Protocol, which was meant to put an end to the hostilities and to start the peace process in that country.

The strengthening of cooperation between the United Nations and Africa's regional organizations for the enhancement of Africa's peacekeeping capacity is a step in the right direction, save for the lack of resources to help carry out this exercise. In this regard we join the Secretary-General in appealing to Member States to generously make contributions to the trust fund set up in this connection so as to make effective the efforts of the Secretariat in building Africa's capacity in peacemaking. The opening of regional peacekeeping training centres in Africa will go a long way towards preparing military personnel in the continent to deal with the conflict situations which [illegible] engulf our continent.

I wish to end by emphasizing the shared responsibility the international community has with respect to the problems of Africa. Neglecting the continent, as it were, will not help but will continue to hinder the United Nations efforts in its quest to achieve peace and security throughout the world. Transforming Africa into a peaceful region is a commitment and a responsibility the international community cannot afford to easily abdicate.

We the people of Africa are concerned, as we continue to make statements here in the Council, as to whether the seed we are sowing here is falling on fertile ground. We have made many statements and appeals, both personally and through our representatives in the Security Council, but to our dismay the Council is moving at a tortoise's pace towards taking seriously what the plight of Africa is all about.

We know our problems in Africa, and we also know from where they emanated. And even though those countries have complicated our problems in Africa, Africa has never produced any weapons of war. But these wars which are fought today are fought by means of guns produced elsewhere, hence Africa is regarded by the rich nations as a market where all sorts of wars can be fought using arms from those countries.

I therefore appeal to the Council, as we end today's debate, to come up with a resolution stating what will be done to those members of the Council that continue to traffic in and sell the arms of war that have maimed the African population.

We never knew that after obtaining independence we would still continue to suffer.

We had hoped that we, like the people of any other region of the world, would be allowed to enjoy the fruits of our freedom. This Council — indeed, the United Nations — must search for answers to the question why Africa has even until today never known peace and has never enjoyed the fruits of independence. The answer lies with this Council, and we in Africa are waiting longingly to hear what steps this Council will take, and take soon.

I do have a question: if the Council were to vote today, at the end of this meeting, how many of the members of the Security Council would endorse forming and deploying a large, multinational force to control the conflicts in Africa, as they have done for other regions of the world? We do not hate being African: God made no mistake in making us African, but we want people to appreciate our being African, and help us because our development really was delayed by the accidents of colonial history, which is why, today, we are suffering these setbacks.

I hope that you will pardon me, Mr. President, for being emotional here. I am sending a strong message, which should be followed by a strong resolution to respond to the conflicts in Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of Swaziland for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Uruguay. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement now.

Mr. Pérez-Otermin (Uruguay) (*spoke in Spanish*): First of all, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, for having convened this public debate today. Allowing the participation of countries like mine, which are not members of the Security Council, will help to enrich the work of this body on an issue that involves and affects us all.

My country applauds the firm commitment of the Security Council to raising the awareness of the international community about the question of Africa. Also, opening the debate to the participation of States that are not members of the Council increases the transparency of its work.

Uruguay welcomes with satisfaction and gratitude the detailed and timely report of the Secretary-General of 25 September last (S/1999/1008), which gives an account of the implementation of the well-timed recommendations contained in his report of 13 April 1998 (S/1998/318). We acknowledge with particular interest all the initiatives aimed at facilitating the peaceful resolution of disputes and in particular the creation by the Economic Community of West African States of a Mediation and Security Council to facilitate efforts to achieve understanding between parties in order to prevent and resolve conflicts in the region, respecting the principles of sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity, the fundamental principles of peaceful international coexistence.

As President Chiluba rightly pointed out at the Security Council meeting on 21 September (S/PV.4047), the United Nations has a role to play in the constant search for peace in Africa. We therefore congratulate the Council on the commendable measures that have been taken and which are set out in the report of the Secretary-General before us today. Security Council resolution 1209 (1998) on illicit arms flows in Africa is a necessary and timely first step in the efforts of the Organization in devoting greater attention to the prevention of conflicts.

Uruguay would also like here to underline the praiseworthy efforts that many African countries are making to promote peace and security in the region and achieve sustained economic growth, showing that African leaders are aware that the greatest efforts must come from Africans themselves.

We share the concern expressed here by a member of the Security Council regarding the need for greater foresight and precision in the content of the mandates. The Security Council must make greater efforts through the Secretariat to ensure, to the benefit of African countries, the greatest possible precision in mandates so that the proposed objectives are achieved and the necessary provisions to prevent failures such as those in Angola are put in place. Specifically, we believe that foresight is as important in determining the precise moment for the presence of a peace mission as it is in determining the right time for its withdrawal, thereby ensuring that when a mission ceases to exist peace will have been truly established on a solid and sustainable basis.

Uruguay has contributed troops to United Nations operations in Rwanda, Liberia, Mozambique and Angola. It is currently participating in the peace operations in Western Sahara, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone and, for over a year, it has been committed to supporting the peace process between Eritrea and Ethiopia, thereby demonstrating to the international community its very strong commitment to Africa — a commitment that we make despite our limited resources.

The more than 5,000 Uruguayan troops that have supported peace and economic and social development in Africa, and which will continue to do so in the future, together with the people of Uruguay as a whole, will continue to show solidarity with peace-building, democratization and the right to better living conditions for our African brothers and sisters.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Zambia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement now.

Mr. Kasanda (Zambia): My delegation joins with all those who have spoken before me to pay you a tribute, Mr. President, for the magnificent and most efficient manner in which you have handled the Council's business throughout the month of September. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, the Ambassador of Namibia, for his impressive performance in conducting the Council's affairs in the month of August.

I should like to thank the Secretary-General for his detailed statement to the Council yesterday. In his briefing, he was candid and frank about the challenges that lie ahead in the common struggle to improve human conditions in Africa. In this, among other things, he struck a note of hope for the future, if only all of us, and in particular this Council, are prepared to play our part by living up to our commitments and obligations.

Conflict in Africa has had devastating consequences on the lives of the African people. From Angola to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, from Somalia to southern Sudan and from Sierra Leone to Ethiopia and Eritrea, the story of great human suffering is the same. Conflict has orphaned children. Other children have become child soldiers. Economic and social

infrastructures have been disrupted by war. Hundreds of thousands have been displaced within their countries' borders. Millions more are living as refugees in neighboring countries or are scattered elsewhere on the continent. This situation has had a negative impact on the economic and social fabric of host countries.

As several speakers in this debate have pointed out, however, there is a growing realization that Africans themselves should find solutions to these African problems. Through the efforts of our regional organization, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and subregional organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), teething problems are beginning to be amenable to solution. Sierra Leone is one such case. Another is the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Here, the leaders of the SADC and the Central African regions, in cooperation with the OAU and the United Nations, have laid the foundations on which peace can be established in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. These efforts, however, cannot succeed without the Security Council assuming its responsibilities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In his recent briefing for Security Council members on 21 September 1999, President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia, in his capacity as the SADC mediator on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, left on the Security Council table proposals that point the way forward in the search for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The institutions created under the Ceasefire Agreement are already in place, and a vacuum should not be allowed to develop and be filled by men of violence. The Security Council needs to act speedily and send to the Democratic Republic of the Congo a peacekeeping force with an appropriate mandate and of an appropriate size, based on assessed needs on the ground. The presence of peacekeepers will have a positive effect on many other aspects of the peace process, including building confidence among the population, thereby making the organization of a national political dialogue much easier.

It is my delegation's fervent hope and expectation that the Security Council will move quickly to take advantage of the Ceasefire Agreement, an Agreement that has been wholeheartedly supported by all the members of this body. Collective support for the Agreement should be extended to practical support for enforcement measures to bring peace to the Democratic Republic of the Congo quickly and without further bloodshed. We count on the support of the Security Council and the international community at large, just as we counted on them during the painstaking negotiations that led to the Ceasefire Agreement.

While efforts at finding solutions and preventing conflicts in Africa are gathering pace, the widespread availability of small arms continues to cause great concern. Conflicts in Africa are being exacerbated by the ruthless drive for fat profits on the part of international arms merchants. These greedy sharks must be stopped by timely international action. The uncontrolled sale of small arms has also contributed to undermining sanctions regimes wherever they have been put in place. A case in point is Angola. The loopholes in the sanctions regime against UNITA should be closed in order to cut the supply of arms to Savimbi's rebel movement and thereby diminish his capacity to wage war against his own people. In this regard, my delegation offers a special commendation to Ambassador Robert Fowler, Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) concerning the situation in Angola, for the excellent work the Committee is doing in that area.

We support stronger collaboration among African regional and subregional mechanisms for conflict management, resolution and prevention. In that connection, the Security Council should work assiduously to strengthen support for regional and subregional initiatives as well as to enhance coordination with those mechanisms in the areas of conflict prevention and the maintenance of peace and security in Africa and indeed the world over.

Africa has also taken deliberate steps to enhance democracy and good governance as well as respect for human rights, as part of a process of striving to achieve durable peace and sustainable development. Africa has determined that the only legitimate road to political power is through the ballot box. In this regard, and as many previous speakers have noted, African heads of State or Government, at their meeting in Algiers in July, took a fundamental decision, namely that they would in future deny recognition to leaders who assume political power through extra-constitutional means such as military coups. However, as we all know, democratic values and institutions do not thrive in conditions of widespread poverty, conflict and deprivation. The international community should assist Africa in all these areas in order to guarantee peace and development in the continent.

The President: I thank the representative of Zambia for the kind words he addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of Uganda. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Semakula Kiwanuka (Uganda): Uganda welcomes this opportunity to participate in the Security Council's open debate on the progress report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the recommendations contained in his earlier report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. My delegation congratulates you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September, and on the initiative you have taken in facilitating this open debate.

My delegation entirely shares the views expressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi Annan, and by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and we associate ourselves also with the views expressed by the Permanent Representative of Algeria on behalf of the current Chairman of the OAU.

As the guns fell silent on 10 July 1999, when six heads of States parties to the conflict signed the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, which on 31 August 1999 was signed also by the Congolese Rally for Democracy, the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo entered a new phase. It was agreed that the former belligerents were now peacemakers.

Allow me to reaffirm that Uganda's interests have always been and still are in the need to ensure that there is total security in all parts of Uganda, in the protection of the lives and property of all Ugandans, and in the need to ensure stability in the Great Lakes region. This is because, as we have learned from bitter experience, instability in any neighboring country adversely affects our own security and economic development. It should be recalled that the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo had both internal and external dimensions. All the signatories to the Ceasefire Agreement recognized that a resolution of that conflict would have to address all those dimensions.

Uganda's position on the crisis reflects its efforts to pursue those interests. Uganda is and always has been strongly committed to seeking regional solutions to the problems of the Great Lakes region. I am therefore glad to report that Uganda is satisfied with the Agreement signed at Lusaka, because for the first time all the parties to the conflict have agreed on the future of their subregion. Having put their signatures on the Agreement, it is incumbent upon all parties, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to resist the temptation to engage in hostile and unnecessary propaganda.

I shall not repeat the five basic principles which were agreed on as the basis for a durable peace. Nevertheless, I need to point out that the signing of an agreement is, as we know, merely the beginning of a long process of peacemaking and peace-building. Consequently, the political Committee, of which Uganda is the Chair, as well as the Joint Military Commission, both of which were established by the Agreement, agreed to start their work. It is the view of the Uganda Government, a view shared by all the Heads of the States parties, that the peace process should not be held hostage by the internal divisions and minor disagreements between the RCD. Hence, the Committees, as I have said, have started their work.

But until certain measures are implemented as a matter of urgency, the peace Agreement remains fragile. Financial and logistical support is urgently called for in sufficient quantities to hold the peace together and to prevent those who may wish to take up guns again from doing so.

My delegation recognizes that the United Nations has a key role to play in the implementation of this Agreement. Uganda therefore welcomes the steps so far taken by the Secretary-General in dispatching military and civilian police to survey the situation. But, as I said earlier, this is not enough, because the situation is still fragile and demands much more than surveys. The fundamental requirements for the implementation of the Lusaka process are resources — financial and logistical — to facilitate the deployment of peacekeepers and the national dialogue which will lead to the process of democratization in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Finally I would like to inform you, Sir, and the Council that my Government is less than happy with responses from the Security Council when it comes to dealing with situations in Africa. We know the tragic happenings in Rwanda. The contrasts between what went on there and what happened in Kosovo and recently in East Timor are too glaring. Many of us Africans see the situation being worse than benign neglect.

This international body has the obligation to respond to and treat all conflicts with equal urgency and concrete actions of involvement. The Lusaka peace process demands quick action. The Security Council must play its role in safeguarding that peace, because delays in the implementation of the essential requirements of the Agreement can tempt the resumption of conflicts.

In conclusion, my delegation pays tribute to President Chiluba of Zambia for his tireless efforts, which resulted in the peace Agreement, which we are confident will pave the way for peace in our region.

The President: I thank the representative of Uganda for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Pakistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Haque (Pakistan): The debate to review progress in the international community's efforts in advancing peace and sustainable development in Africa is timely. It can be argued that the Security Council is ranging far afield of its mandate in discussing the issue of sustainable development in Africa, which was squarely in the ambit of the work of the General Assembly. However, since this is one of the most important subjects facing the international community today, Pakistan has decided to participate in the debate.

Mr. Kofi Annan deserves our thanks and commendation for his pivotal role in highlighting the causes of conflict in Africa through a number of reports, as well as for his initiatives to address the dilemma of the "perpetual crisis" on the African continent.

The gravity of the situation is reflected in the fact that over 65 per cent of the issues currently under consideration by the Security Council relate to Africa. The causes of conflict in Africa are multifarious. Historical experiences, geographic conditions, stages of economic development, sets of public policies, patterns of internal and external interaction and ethnic tensions have influenced the dynamics of different conflicts in Africa.

However, the overriding factor responsible for the problems has been, and continues to be, the pervasive poverty on the continent. Agonizing, gnawing, ever expanding poverty which engulfs Africa does not lend itself to wide media coverage and therefore does not engage the attention of the international community. Extremes of poverty, deprivation and desperation breed frustration and violence. An abiding sense of injustice, exploited by those who are either motivated by idealism and outrage or seek wealth or power for themselves, engenders civil strife and political upheavals.

We agree with the Secretary-General that conflict prevention and post-conflict peace-building cannot lead to durable peace unless a society can simultaneously move on the path of economic and social development.

The international community must therefore concentrate its efforts on poverty eradication in Africa, which remains amongst the poorest regions in the world. Without the serious pursuit of the objective of sustainable development, the possibilities of achieving durable solutions to conflicts in Africa will remain elusive. Financial and technological support is urgently required to strengthen human resource development and to build and enlarge essential infrastructure for the socio-economic development of Africa. Unfortunately, the international response has, so far, fallen short of expectations. The world must do much more, and must do it now. We share the view expressed by the Secretary-General that the so-called "Africa fatigue" is an affront to the idea of a caring international community.

Africa's poverty is exacerbated by constantly deteriorating terms of trade, falling commodity prices, increasing protectionism in developed countries, negative effects of structural adjustment arrangements, declining official development assistance and the pressures of debt servicing.

Let us look at some facts. Foreign debt and debt-servicing in Africa have risen to alarming levels. Debt service eats up most of the revenues of indebted countries and forces them to resort to short-term borrowing at high rates of interest merely to service their old debts. At present the total debt of Africa stands at around $350 billion. The African countries cannot pay back this debt through indigenous resources. The commitment of the West to official development assistance is also eroding and aid flows are drying up, thus compounding the problems.

The process of globalization has bypassed most countries of Africa and many other developing countries, which find themselves in a worse economic situation than ever before. For most developing countries the mantras of the market economy — liberalization, deregulation and privatization — have worked to their detriment. They have not led to increased production or exports. Nor have

they brought in foreign investment, which was expected to offset the decrease in official development assistance. Foreign investment is flowing to a limited number of countries only, and its benefits have been uneven and at times of dubious value.

In some cases large sums of money belonging to the African countries have been siphoned off to the Western banks by the rapacious elite of these countries. In other cases multinational corporations destroy the nascent local industries, proceed to establish monopolies and take out much more money than they bring in.

There is thus a major outflow of resources from the developing to the developed world. According to one account, for every dollar that comes into the developing countries, nine dollars are taken out of their economies. Thus, in some ways the developed economies are prospering at the expense of African and other developing countries.

Finally, the resources of the United Nations development programmes are constantly decreasing, and available resources are not, at times, being put to optimum use.

Africa is thus confronted with a hostile international economic climate in which exploitation of the weaker economies continues apace, notwithstanding protestations to the contrary, and in which conflicts are allowed to fester, since the international community averts its gaze and does not wish to accept responsibility.

Pakistan expresses its full solidarity with and support for the efforts of the African countries to find peaceful solutions to the conflicts in Africa, and also for their efforts for the economic and social development of their peoples. Pakistan looks upon Africa as a continent of the future. We are confident about the eventual rise of Africa. Relations with African countries are a priority area of our foreign policy.

Despite our financial difficulties, Pakistan maintains diplomatic missions in a large number of African countries and has been running a multifaceted technical-assistance programme for Africa since the early 1980s. Under this programme, we are extending training facilities to young professionals from African countries in diverse fields. We will continue to enhance the scope of this programme in the years ahead, within the limits of our resources.

On the issue of peacemaking in Africa, we note that important breakthroughs have been achieved this year in the search for negotiated solutions to the protracted internal conflicts in Sierra Leone and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as to the bilateral conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. We hope that the streamlining and strengthening of mediatory mechanisms, as well as the effective monitoring of illicit arms flows, will have positive effects on the efforts to promote stability and peace in Africa.

In Africa and elsewhere, random or planned violence against weak and vulnerable sections of society goes unreported, unnoticed and unchecked unless it is on a such a large scale that it can no longer be ignored. Developing respect for international humanitarian law and human rights is therefore essential for peace in the region. We note that there is a growing awareness of the need to uphold the universally recognized principles concerning respect for human life and dignity. More, however, needs to done to ensure strict adherence to international humanitarian norms by combatants in crisis situations, particularly for the protection of children, women, civilians and humanitarian workers.

The international community must address the underlying the causes of conflict in Africa and elsewhere. Addressing only the symptoms and trying to put out fires after they have been lit is an unproductive and wasteful exercise. Alleviating poverty, generating employment, providing essential services such as education, housing, medical care and clean drinking water, and, most importantly, promoting a shared stake in the progress and welfare of the country among the people — these are the most essential elements for peace and progress in Africa. A culture of peace cannot develop or prosper in a situation of despair and alienation. It requires a climate of hope and prospects for progress.

The people of Africa deserve and await a brighter future as the world approaches the new millennium. The international community must not fail them.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Nigeria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): May I at the outset join the many speakers before me in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and for organizing this very important public discussion. We are confident that under

your able leadership the deliberations of the Council will be conducted in a manner that will ensure justice and enhance the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

My delegation associates itself fully with the statements made earlier by the Organization of African Unity Secretary-General and by the representative of the current Chairman of our continental organization. I wish to thank the Secretary-General for his very articulate and thoughtful report (S/1999/1008) on the situation in Africa, as well as for the visionary recommendations contained therein. Well over a year ago, the Secretary-General outlined in an earlier report recommendations that, if pursued by the international community with adequate political will, would have advanced the course of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa beyond its current stage.

Indeed, there has never been a shortage of excellent analyses of the African condition, including those contained in the Secretary-General's report before us and in the many speeches we have heard throughout this debate. The missing link is the translation of the recommendations from those analyses into concrete actions at the national, subregional, regional and global levels. The world may listen to these debates in this hallowed Chamber, but ordinary Africans in the continent would prefer concrete actions that help them solve the many problems with which they are faced.

Africa is confronted with a proliferation of conflicts at a time when the region has little leverage on the larger international community to ensure the provision of necessary human, material, logistic and political resources to resolve them. Moreover, the decline in official development assistance and the lackluster response of the international community to the development agenda of Africa are additional negative factors. Yet, the relationship between peace and development is nowhere better illustrated than in Africa. The lack of sustainable development has indeed been linked directly to the proliferation and intensity of conflict situations and wars, which in turn have hampered and deflected development efforts in the continent.

The ability to resolve conflict and effective conflict management efforts in Africa would surely free resources presently consumed in mindless wars and redirect our energies towards development goals and objectives. The enabling environment for foreign private investment in the economy of Africa would also be enhanced. At present, regretfully, Africa is the continent with the smallest share of direct foreign private investment.

While we freely admit that there is a proliferation of conflicts in Africa, our region has also recorded success in trying to find solutions to a number of such conflicts. An example of such initiatives in Africa is the Liberian civil war, which was resolved after many years of fighting. Also, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and its Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) have been playing a positive role in the process of the restoration of peace and stability in Sierra Leone, which has culminated in the Lomé Peace Agreement.

The various peace initiatives and peacekeeping efforts, such as those of ECOMOG and individual countries like Nigeria, are predicated on the imperative of peace and stability for the development process. Our subregional efforts in the context of ECOWAS and ECOMOG therefore need to be given further impetus. It is neither fair nor wise to continue to expect a few countries to shoulder a disproportionate share of the burden of peace and security in the West African subregion. The Security Council must therefore assume its full responsibility for peace and security in Sierra Leone by, *inter alia*, authorizing without delay the deployment of up to six battalions for the new United Nations peacekeeping force for Sierra Leone proposed by the Secretary-General in his recent report on Sierra Leone.

We believe that conflict prevention holds the key to the maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa and elsewhere in the world. However, it remains a big challenge, both for the United Nations and for regional organizations, such as the OAU and even ECOWAS. This is because, without absolute vigilance, the early signs of impending danger could easily escape notice. Hence, it is with this awareness that the United Nations and regional organizations must continue to fine-tune common indicators for early warning and engage in a joint training of staff in the field of conflict prevention. Moreover, my delegation is recommending that the Security Council fully endorse the decision made at the most recent regular summit of the OAU in Algiers to make the year 2000 the year of peace, security and stability in Africa. This Council should actively support the efforts of African leaders of considerable experience, stature and credibility to promote peace among African States in the areas of conflict prevention, conflict management and conflict resolution.

A recurrent theme in this debate has been globalization, which is considered to be a twenty-first century imperative, with the market becoming truly global. As is well known, however, globalization has its benefits as well as its pitfalls. The pressing question for Africa is whether we are headed towards marginalization in the emerging global economic order. The danger signals for us in the continent are very clear. Africa is the least industrialized continent in the world and even the factories that are still being operated generally do so at less than 30 per cent of installed capacity.

Furthermore, Africa's share of private foreign investment continues to decline from the peak of $10 billion in 1982 to about $5 billion in 1996. According to 1995 figures, while Asia was the strongest magnet for private foreign investment at 18.8 per cent of regional gross domestic product, followed by Latin America at 13.9 per cent and Eastern Europe and the Arab world at 12.6 per cent, sub-Saharan Africa came last with only 7.7 per cent. The crushing external debt burden on African countries compounds the problem. Whereas in the late 1970s Africa's external debt stood at a mere $48.5 billion, the figure is now about $350 billion. Many countries in Africa, as the Council is aware, now spend far more on debt-servicing than they do on basic social services such as education and health.

The debt problem is therefore for Africa a desperate disease which requires a desperate cure through serious measures for debt relief and outright debt cancellation. Moreover, since 1992, Africa's exports and imports, as a share of total world trade, have declined from 4 per cent to about 2 per cent. Perhaps worst of all, it was recently pointed out by the World Bank President, Mr. Wolfensohn, that 37 per cent of Africa's private wealth is being held outside of Africa, whereas the comparable figure for Asia's share is 4 per cent and 17 per cent for Latin America. A significant share of Africa's private wealth held outside Africa is illegal capital flight. My President, Mr. Obasanjo, has proposed to the General Assembly at this session the idea — which we hope the United Nations will support — of negotiating and adopting an international convention to recover capital illegally siphoned out of our continent.

Africa must never consent to its own marginalization in global economic, financial and political matters. What is required of us is that we take advantage of some of the positive developments in the changing international political and economic order while taking measures to minimize their negative impact on our countries and on our peoples. We must diversify our economies and move the various subregional integration efforts and the African Economic Community — whose Treaty was signed in Abuja, the capital of my country, in 1991 — from rhetoric to reality. We must also intensify our efforts to create the enabling environment for external private investment. Furthermore, we must enthrone in our respective countries in Africa good governance and public accountability. Africa's hope and chances have been enhanced by recent positive developments in my own country, Nigeria, and the new South Africa. In general, the major challenges facing Africa, in our view, are conflict resolution and peace, sustainable development and enduring democratization. With help from the international community, we must not and will not fail in meeting these challenges as we come to the end of this millennium.

If we live in a truly interdependent world that is increasingly becoming a global village, Africans can legitimately ask the question: What is the world prepared to do in a sustained and committed manner to support the continent's own efforts at rebirth and regeneration? I share the belief that the era of separate destinies has run its course. No one country or region can go it alone or remain an island of peace and tranquility in the midst of disease, wars, poverty, human and environmental degradation and global chaos.

We in Africa will need the assistance of the international community based on the principle of reciprocal obligations and in the belief that peace and justice are truly indivisible. In this regard, let us consider the world's response to the recent crisis in Kosovo, in contrast with the response we have seen to the conflicts in Rwanda or Sierra Leone. In tackling the Kosovo refugee crisis, the international community responded by spending roughly $1.50 a day per refugee. The African refugees in Rwanda and Sierra Leone received the equivalent of ¢11 per head.

Let us also consider the fact that, in the aftermath of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military offensive in the Balkans, Western European countries and their allies readily pledged well over $2 billion for the reconstruction and rebuilding of Kosovo, even when it was widely estimated that only about $500 million are needed for the task. In Sierra Leone, where Nigeria, a developing country, has been spending more than $1 million a day to support its troops in ECOMOG for the past three years — in addition to the estimated $4 billion

spent in Liberia since 1990 — the same enthusiasm for the Kosovo-type of financial support is sadly lacking.

When the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, recently visited Sierra Leone, she remarked that there had been far more loss of life there than in Kosovo and that there was therefore a greater need for a more compassionate and humane response from the world. Recently, Stephen Lewis, the Deputy Executive Director of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) was quoted as saying that

> "It is morally repugnant that the West is prepared to spend $40 billion to fight a war in the Balkans and less than 1 per cent of that to save the lives of tens of millions in Africa."

These observations raise some deeply troubling moral questions, which the United Nations and the international community must address as we enter the twenty-first century.

Permit me to end this statement on a personal note, Mr. President, since this is the last time that I will address the Security Council in my present capacity as Ambassador and Permanent Representative of my country. When I assumed office as the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, almost a decade ago, at the tail end of the cold war, the Security Council was reticent in responding to African conflicts. It took us, for example, about five months to get Liberia on the agenda of the Security Council. As my tenure now comes to an end, the agenda of the Security Council is dominated by African issues.

The peoples and Governments of African countries commend the interest and concern of the Security Council and the international community as a whole. All they ask for now from the Security Council is to match its words with deeds and to apply a single standard, and not a continuing double standard, when responding to conflicts in Africa compared with the response from the Security Council to conflicts in other regions of the world. And, in so doing, the Security Council would then be fulfilling its Charter obligation to assume responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security everywhere.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me. Before inviting him to resume his seat at the side of the Council chamber, I call on the representative of Canada.

Mr. Fowler (Canada): Thank you very much, Mr. President, for allowing me to speak for a few seconds about the enormous contribution that Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari has made to our Organization and a couple of years ago to this Council.

As Professor Gambari has just said, he has served for 10 years in this Organization. I learned only today that he will be leaving us in a few weeks, and I thought that as this is likely the last time he will address the Council it behooves us to note the occasion.

The conclusion of this extremely important debate on Africa is a very fitting occasion to note the extremely important contribution that Ambassador Gambari has made to the Council and the Organization, and indeed, if I may so, the contribution he has made to Nigeria and to the African continent. His tenure here as Ambassador of Nigeria has covered a tumultuous period in the history of his great nation. Throughout that time Ambassador Gambari has represented nearly a quarter of the population of Africa with enormous grace, poise and quiet effectiveness.

It is also appropriate that in the course of this debate, in which we have spent a lot of time talking about peacekeeping, we should recall that Ambassador Gambari, as Chairman of the United Nations Peacekeeping Committee, the C-34, has made steadfast efforts to streamline, modernize and enlarge the United Nations peacekeeping performance. Indeed, the C-34 now includes almost half the membership of this Organization, and much of the credit for that modernization goes very directly to him.

In conclusion, speaking personally — but I am confident that I am expressing a view which could easily find consensus within this Council, which is no mean feat, and indeed well beyond — I think we can all wish Ambassador Gambari well in whatever he chooses to do. We will all of us miss enormously his wise counsel, an example of which we heard just a few moments ago.

Mr. Burleigh (United States of America): I enthusiastically second what Ambassador Fowler has just said about Ambassador Gambari and his many contributions. Aside from identifying ourselves with all the comments and assessments that Ambassador Fowler made, I should like to add that Ambassador Gambari's hard-headed pragmatism and directness have been very much appreciated by my delegation over and through many different issues, including most recently the

discussions about how this Council and my Government, for example, will engage on the question of Sierra Leone and the presence of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) there. I want to wish him well, and I am sure colleagues will join me in that. We will miss him.

The President: There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

United Nations

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Security Council

Fifty-fourth Year

Provisional

4049th Meeting

Thursday, 30 September 1999, 2 p.m.

New York

Corrigendum

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After **Mr. Mwamba Kapanga** *insert* (Democratic Republic of the Congo)

99-86050 (E)